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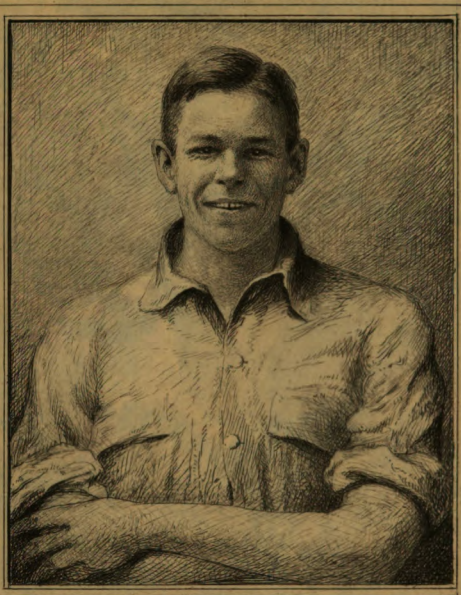

In Memory of
STEPHEN SPAULDING
1907 – 1925
CLASS of 1927
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1 Union necessary to Security

2 An Argument against extermination

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5 An Appeal to the Citizens of Dublin — by a freeman

6 Present State of Ireland — by J. Duigenan

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UNION,

NECESSARY TO

SECURITY.

ADDRESSED TO THE

LOYAL INHABITANTS OF IRELAND.

BY

ARCHIBALD REDFOORD, ESQ.

——BONAQUE AC MALA NON SUA NATURA, SED VOCIBUS SEDITIOSORUM ÆSTIMANTUR.

TACITUS.

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UNION

NECESSARY

TO SECURITY.

THE moſt of the following pages were written many months ago; but as the agitation of the queſtion which produced them had begun to ſubſide, and had occaſioned a degree of offence which required time to remove or qualify, it was judged not proper then to obtrude them upon the public. However, the Author has for a conſiderable time obſerved with ſome ſatisfaction, that the proſecution of the meaſure of Union between theſe kingdoms has been on every proper occaſion announced by the Executive in both Countries, and that the Britiſh legiſlature has ſo far ſeriouſly diſcuſſed the ſubject as to lay a uſeful ground for future conſideration; and he has alſo obſerved with ſtill greater ſatisfaction, that there has been a gradual acceſſion to the number of diſintereſted and ſenſible perſons in

 private

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private life, who diſcover a diſpoſition to conſider the queſtion with candour, upon the principles of genuine publick good, free from that indiſcriminating indignation againſt government which upon every occaſion ſeems to be fooliſhly confounded with the virtue of patriotiſm, and from that prejudice againſt England, which marks the dangerous ſepariſt, rather than the true friend to his country. Notwithſtanding therefore the multiplicity of prodctions on the ſubject, and the neceſſary ſimilarity of ideas in thoſe who maintain the ſame opinion, yet, as the matter is of no common concern, and as almoſt every man has ſomething peculiar in his views or his manner of communicating them, calculated to impreſs particular readers, it may be uſeful, perhaps a duty, to publiſh the ſimple and unbiaſſed reſult of honeſt inquiry.

In the conſideration of the queſtion of Union, as well as of every other important moral or political queſtion, every man no doubt will be more or leſs influenced by the opinions or principles he has happened previouſly to receive. There are many who have viewed the late ſeries of revolutions, or rather convulſions, and the concommitant wildneſſes, in France, with ſatisfaction, and have followed the progreſs of French arms and French principles with delight. They think indeed that ſome new meaſures ought to take place; yet not ſuch as ſhall bind together all the parts of the Britiſh Empire more cloſely, and thereby enable them more firmly to reſiſt all aſſaults from without or from within, upon our common and well tried conſtitution; but ſuch as ſhall ſubvert all that has been happily eſtabliſhed, and, by forming us upon the new plans of France,

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France, ſhall render us ſubſervient to the views of that deſtroying nation, which they wiſh to ſee univerſally triumphant as the grand renovator of mankind. There are others who, though differing from the former in their opinion of the nature and conſequences of French principles, yet foſter very invidious ſentiments againſt Great Britain, conſider a compleat Union with that country as, what they call, the *extinction of Ireland*, and acknowledging the full conſequence of their opinion, would rather compleatly ſeparate than compleatly unite. With either of theſe deſcriptions of perſons it is plain that any diſcuſſion of any Union, under any circumſtances, or in any juncture, muſt meet with inſtant and prejudging reprobation. But, to the *loyal* inhabitants of Ireland, who ſeek the permanency of the Britiſh Conſtitution, the ſecurity of our religion, and the ſtability of the common empire, it may be uſefully propoſed to conſider, whether, contemplating the formidable change which has taken place in the ſtate of ſurrounding nations, and the deſperate machinations, as new in their ſyſtem as wicked in their nature, which for years have been pointed at our exiſtence, it may not be wiſe to adopt ſome fair, liberal and juſt, plan of compleat conſolidation, which, more effectually than hitherto, ſhall, conſiſtently with national proſperity, ſecure theſe kingdoms againſt the foreign foe and the domeſtic traitor.

Whatever difference of opinion may ſubſiſt among the loyal inhabitants of this country, we are all decidedly agreed, that a ſeparation between theſe kingdoms would prove the certain deſtruction of both. Britain is powerful; and, for the ſake of her own ſafety,

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ſafety, as well as of preſerving that integrity of power which has given dignity, proſperity, and ſecurity, to the Empire, ſhe would neceſſarily make every poſſible effort to recover Ireland. What muſt be the conſequence? Either Ireland is reduced, and, as a conquered country, is ſubjected to ſuch ſyſtem of depreſſing dependence as to the more powerful country appears neceſſary; or ſhe is aided by the formidable and ambitious nation which for centuries has been engaged in hoſtilities with England, and after a ſtruggle in which Britain and Ireland become exhauſted, France ever watchful for her prey ſeizes the fatal occaſion, and ſubjugates to her humiliating and devouring policy theſe noble iſlands, which, cloſely united, are formed to riſe ſuperiour among the nations and to arbitrate for Europe. But it is obvious that if ſeparation be effected, it muſt be by the aſſiſtance of France in the firſt inſtance. Rebellion, howſoever ſecretly and artfully prepared, and howſoever daringly and ferociouſly attempted, could not long ſucceed, unaided by a foreign foe, againſt the fleets and armies of Britain. The uniform hiſtory of mankind, and our own recent experience, inform us of the means that would be employed. We have already ſeen what can be effected by ſecret machinations. What more would be accompliſhed when the wealth, and power, and rank, and numbers ſhould be increaſed of thoſe, who under the exciting pretext of conſulting the dignity of independent Ireland, ſhould ſeek the rueful phantom *ſeparation*, the mind ſhudders to contemplate:—correſpondence—emiſſaries—concerted plans—powerful inva-ſions—internal and wide-ſpread maſſacre—final ſucceſs—and a republick upon a French model, under French protection,

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protection, and subject to French dominion. Then follow in due course, the reign of the most vicious profligates, the murder or banishment of all the families of property, the degradation and destruction of all religion, and a legalized system of atheism and vice. *Pollutæ cærimoniæ; magna adulteria; plenum exiliis mare; infecti cædibus scopuli; atrocius in urbe sævitum. Nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique honores, pro crimine; et ob virtutes certissimum exitium.*

It is said, that if the interest of Great Britain was not materially concerned in a Union, the government of that country would not propose the measure: and truly it must be owned, that Great Britain is deeply interested indeed, to promote any measure that can tend to prevent the separation of Ireland. By such a separation, she not only loses an arm of strength which powerfully aids her in common defence, but a material part of her own power is converted against herself. France, a mighty, an ambitious, and a malignant state, with such additional power in her hands, as Ireland—an island with great natural wealth, not without considerable acquired wealth, populous, of uncommon maritime capacity, and lying under the bosom and heart of England—France, with such aid, and with such a fulcrum on which to work engines of destruction, must soon consummate her abhorred purpose;—and then, overpowered, despoiled, and subjugated, the naval bulwark of the world resists and protects no more.

Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.

Without urging this obvious and alarming truth farther,

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ther, therefore, it may be taken as fully admitted, that the ſeparation of Britain and Ireland muſt be conſidered by every loyal inhabitant of this country, as an event moſt afflictive and ruinous to us and to our poſterity, and againſt which, it would be mad and wicked, not to ſeek for every poſſible ſecurity.

But the peculiar circumſtances of this country have unfortunately foſtered in the minds of the great body of the people, an hoſtility to the Engliſh name, and a diſpoſition to ſeparate, of which, the foreign foe, on every occaſion has been ready to take advantage. In order to illuſtrate this poſition, it may be ſatisfactory to take a ſhort review of former events.

Above ſix centuries ago, this country, then in a ſtate of barbariſm, was reduced to a connexion with England. A ferocious hatred to the Engliſh ſettlers, as well as to their laws and cuſtoms, for ages actuated the natives; and it was not until after a long period of animoſity and conteſt, that at length Engliſh laws were adopted, and Engliſh language and manners gained any place. Ireland, it is well known, whatever might have been its civilization in a very remote antiquity, was, at the time of its reduction by Henry the ſecond, and for centuries after, in ſo uncivilized a ſtate compared with the reſt of Europe, that it was little if at all prepared, to take part in thoſe ardent ſcenes, in which the revival of letters firſt, and then the reformation, engaged moſt of the other nations, and England among the chief. There, intellectual light, which had before occaſionally darted gleams of ſplendour through the prevailing gloom, began to ſpread a general influence; the zeal

of

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of the reformers met with a rapidity of ſucceſs; and the *eccentricity* of Henry the eighth, the cheriſhing care of Edward the ſixth, even the perſecution by Mary, and the wiſdom, firmneſs, and perhaps good fortune, of Elizabeth, all contributed to ſuperſede a reign of darkneſs and ſuperſtition, and to eſtabliſh in that kingdom, almoſt univerſally, a religion, mild, pure, and of happy influence. It is not meant, however, to paſs any decided opinion on the peculiar nature of the reformation, or the means by which it was accompliſhed. Violent enmities, deſtructive wars, and laſting diviſions, were among its attendants and conſequences: and perhaps, had the milder opinions of the amiable and learned Eraſmus prevailed, moderate and gradual corrections would have been adopted, more conducive to the general improvement of men both in knowledge and virtue. But the retroſpect tends to ſhew, that a material and operative change had univerſally taken place in the minds of the people of England, and had been formed into a national eſtabliſhment, at a time when Ireland, though then connected, was excluded from the operation of cauſes which would have aſſimilated her to England; and, by uniformity of opinion in the moſt intereſting concern to man, with the natural concomitant uniformity of manners and obſervances, would, inſtead of inflaming animoſity and preventing intercourſe, have promoted friendſhip and Union between the original inhabitants and the Engliſh ſettlers as well as among the Engliſh ſettlers themſelves. But the ancient feud now became embittered by religious antipathy; and by degrees, mutual offence carried enmity to the higheſt pitch, until at length, rebellion and

maſſacre

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maſſacre, on one ſide, called forth, on the other, ſignal ſeverities.

During the whole of this perturbed period, eſpecially from the time of the reformation, England and Ireland can be conſidered in no other light than as hoſtile nations. The proteſtants of Ireland, unhappily involved in almoſt conſtant contention with the reſt of the inhabitants, were often reduced to miſery and extremity. The Engliſh nation not only conſidered them as their brethren, a portion of themſelves, to be protected againſt thoſe among whom they were ſettled, but looked upon their ſafety as involving the ſecurity of the independence of Ireland. Laws therefore were enacted in England, and through the influence of that country, laws were adopted here, which no doubt retarded the national improvement, and encreaſed the prejudice againſt England, but which, apprehenſions for the ſafety of the proteſtant ſettlers and the ſecurity of the connexion of the two kingdoms, ſeemed to make neceſſary. Theſe apprehenſions were and have been ſo frequently and alarmingly juſtified, that, though it is impoſſible to approve of oppreſſive policy, yet it was neither unnatural nor quite inexcuſable in England, then frequently diſtracted within herſelf, anxious for her own ſafety, and earneſt in the preſervation of the eſtabliſhment, civil and religious in Ireland, to adopt the only means which circumſtances ſeemed to permit, to prevent foreign and internal foes from accompliſhing their purpoſes.

In the time of Elizabeth, internal rebellion conſpired with the foreign enemy to deſtroy our religin and to ſubjugate

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ſubjugate this country to Spain. In the time of Charles the firſt, advantage was taken of the diſtracted ſtate of England, and every deſtructive engine was employed, to exterminate among us the proteſtant religion and name, and to cut off for ever our connexion with our beſt protector. And in the time of James the ſecond a ſimilar attempt was made, and by means which impreſſed deep and laſting effects on the minds of our anceſtors. France, the friend that now holds forth her bleſſings to us and to the reſt of Europe, then lent her aid; and James himſelf was forced to concur in the act, which, making Ireland independent of the crown of England, formed a grand ſtep towards the accompliſhment of the deep rooted ſcheme of ſeparation. The ſufferings, the efforts, and the event of that day are univerſally known; and the conſequences were, that the Engliſh nation and government, and the proteſtant ſettlers in Ireland, were corroborated and decided in the impoſing neceſſity, which long and recent experience had in their apprehenſion taught them, of reſtraining the Roman Catholicks, who compoſed the great body of the inhabitants, and of ſecuring the independence of Ireland upon that country, to which the Proteſtants owed their origin, and to which they cheriſhed their attachment.

Now, with ſuch a diſpoſition, of ancient origin, repeatedly revived, and peculiarly aggravated, let us ſuppoſe theſe kingdoms to be equal in wealth and power, and, excepting the circumſtance of the king of England being *ipſo facto* king of Ireland, formally and virtually independent of each other. What muſt be

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the conſequence? So far back as we have any records of the nature and conduct of man, we learn with certainty that individuals or nations, whenever upon an equality of power, or approaching to that equality, have uniformly exhibited the jealouſy of rivalſhip, and by ſure conſequence, a contention for dominion, deſtructive always of mutual happineſs, and fatal often to exiſtence. In nations, theſe motives of action, which among individuals in civilized ſociety are reſtrained by fear of the laws or of publick opinion, are not only unreſtrained by any principle, but require accumulated force from all the paſſions both good and bad to be found in the community. Ardent attachment to our own nation, ariſing from habitual aſſociations; the pride of national dignity and power; party ſpirit; hatred of a rival; reſentment of wrongs; heated ſympathy in a common cauſe, inflamed by multiplied communication into undiſtinguiſhing paſſion; the love of violence, always operative in the unthinking but active and turbulent majority; all theſe conſtituent energies in our nature, as they may be called, and more that might be enumerated, concur, in the ſituation ſuppoſed, with the previous long foſtered deſire of ſeparation, to produce neceſſarily, either that event, or a conqueſt by one or the other ſtate, equally deſtructive and equally to be deprecated. Let it be added, that theſe nations are eminently wealthy and powerful: conſequently their intereſts muſt be important, numerous, and complicated; and the actual colliſion of their reſpective intereſts, therefore, will frequently occur. When the colliſion happens, what muſt follow? From equal power and perfect independence, no yielding on either part can take place; the inveterate diſpoſition to ſeparate acts in the contrary direction; deſtructive conteſt

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teſt therefore becomes inevitable, followed by conqueſt or ſeparation, with all the reſpective fatal conſequences.

But to enſure the effect, a powerful ſtate, of determined hoſtility to one of thoſe nations, is conſtantly vigilant to diſcover, and alert to ſeize, every occaſion for deſtroying the connexion. Surely no man of common ſenſe or common information can pretend, that ſuch a connexion in ſuch a ſtate of things could permanently ſubſiſt, or that it would be leſs than hopeleſs folly to labour for its preſervation.

Yet the connexion has ſubſiſted, has been preſerved for centuries; and from the time of James the ſecond to the late conſpiracy and rebellion, this country has remained in tolerable ſecurity, notwithſtanding the menaces of France, and her actual attempts, to invade and reduce Ireland in former wars with Great Britain, and notwithſtanding the factious ſpirit, whetted by religious acrimony, which, operating in various forms and under various names, has encouraged the foes of England.

But how has the connexion ſubſiſted, and how has it been preſerved? Not as a connexion of two independent kingdoms, in which the claims and privileges, and free exertions of the one, were neither interfered with or affected by the other;—not as a connexion of two diſtinct kingdoms, joined by the ſimple adoption of the ſame executive, yet of ſo extraordinary, or rather ſo miraculous a nature, that whatever common regulations, enterpriſes, or conflicts, in their various and multiplied relations and tranſactions, appear-

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ed neceſſary to the one, were conſtantly and ſpontaneouſly entered into with kindred zeal by the other: No—the connexion has been preſerved in a manner and by means which, howſoever neceſſary, and in whatever degree neceſſary, the friends of this country, and the true friends of both countries, have long deplored. The influence, or rather the commanding power of the ſuperior country was complete; this country exiſted as a dependant province; the legal code ſubſtantially originated with, or at leaſt was modified by the government of Great Britain; reſtraining laws, framed to preſerve the civil and religious eſtabliſhment, againſt the great majority of the people, who were hoſtile to both, ſecured the country, but enchained the exertions of the inhabitants: and for a long period, the Proteſtants of Ireland zealouſly concurred in this ſyſtem of policy; which they conſidered as neceſſary to their own ſafety, as well as to the national dependence upon England. The conſequences were, that the inhabitants in general were confined to poverty and dependence; the ariſtocracy, at an immenſe diſtance in rank, felt nothing in common with them, employed but rarely the means of conciliation, and enſured depreſſion rather than promoted proſperity; while the middle ranks of life, in which are found the qualities that reſiſt oppreſſion on the one ſide and promote induſtry on the other, were ſcarcely to be found in the community of Ireland.

This kind of connexion no doubt, and preſerved by theſe means, might ſubſiſt for ages without any ſerious apprehenſion of being endangered. But a ſtate of ſociety was induced, which militated againſt national

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happineſs, and which hardly the cleareſt neceſſity could reconcile to a liberal mind.

The linen trade, however, which had been early encouraged, and had ſpread with animating ſucceſs over a large diſtrict of the North chiefly Proteſtant; the proviſion trade of the fertile South; and ſome other ſcattered advantages, contributed, with the advancement of ſurrounding nations, to carry Ireland on in the general progreſs of the reſt of Europe. This gradual improvement; its natural conſequences,—diffuſed property and independent ſpirit; the habit of living together in the exerciſe of the arts of peace; the frequent interchange of good offices; and the exemplary conduct of many of the Roman Catholicks; all tended to create in every rank and ſect, the honeſt wiſh, that the natural advantages of the country might be promoted; and that ſame liberality on the ſubject of religion might be extended, as the forerunner of cordiality and proſperity. The mutual communication of ſuch ſentiments begat and promoted liberality and publick ſpirit. A comprehenſive and enlightened policy in the cabinet and parliament of Great Britain concurred with that liberality and publick ſpirit. In conformity with theſe ſentiments, which the laſt twenty years, the reſtraint of which the Roman Catholicks complained have been removed; they have now enjoyed for a conſiderable time, and with very general concurrence, compleat toleration in religion, and every privilege in the acquiſition and employment of property that rational man could deſire; and at length has been added the elective franchiſe, by which not only an operative motive is given to the landholders to grant

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grant uſeful leaſes to the Roman Catholicks of the poorer claſs, but conſiderable conſequence and influence follow to the general body. In the meantime the ſpirit of independence claimed, and the increaſing power of the country demanded, other and important privileges and benefits. The precarious ſtate of publick affairs in the American conteſt, as well as the wiſdom of Britiſh councils, ſuggeſted the propriety of conceſſion. Accordingly, the parliament of Ireland was declared and confirmed compleatly independent; and this country acquired, equally with Britain, not only unreſtrained commerce with the reſt of the world, but a participation in the colonial and plantation trade, which Great Britain had gained by great induſtry and enterprife and at enormous expence. The conſequences were important. Confidence and liberality gained upon the Proteſtant mind. We ſeemed to have forgotten all former animoſities and calamities, and to contend only for ſuperiority of zeal in atoning to each other and to our country, for all the evils which the demon of diſcord had driven us to inflict. Induſtry, activity and ingenuity were called forth: the uſeful and productive arts of life were more earneſtly cultivated: we were enabled to reap larger benefit from the extenſion of Britiſh commerce: riches, power and independence increaſed: a ſcene of national proſperity opened to our view: and our hearts enjoyed the hope, that religious bigotry and hatred would never again diſturb our harmony, obſtruct our purſuits, or blaſt our proſpects.

We ſeemed to be liberalized; we become independent; we acquired great advantages. How have theſe circumſtances

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circumſtances operated in combination with the extraordinary opinions and extraordinary events of the preſent day?

We are living in a period, in which every evil that could afflict ſociety, has been engendered, matured, and poured abroad, by a depraved nation, which, after deſtroying within its own territory, all law, religion, ſocial order, moral principle, and natural ſentiment, has ſought, by every means, whether of vicious ingenuity or ferocious violence, to uproot the eſtabliſhed policy of every ſurrounding ſtate. Britain ſaw the danger advancing. She ſtood in the breach. She rallied the nations. They retired, diſunited, ſunk, and exhauſted. She alone maintained the conflict; arreſted the progreſs of organized barbariſm; and ſecured hope to the civilized world. On former occaſions ſhe had been commiſſioned to ſave the liberties of Europe; but now ſhe ſeemed deſtined to ſave, not merely eſtabliſhed laws and liberties, but every ſacred principle that marks human ſociety dear, and without which life would ceaſe to be a bleſſing. In this arduous conteſt, her deſperate enemy well knew the ſide on which only ſhe was weak, and where only ſhe could hope to deſtroy her. Advantage was taken in Ireland of the great ſtruggle in which Great Britain was engaged. Myriads of demagogues, the moſt deſtructive and deteſtable things that can infeſt a nation, correſponded with the enemy, imported the principles of France in all their malignity, and rouſed the diſloyalty of the people by every art and pretext: and an organization, as it is called, was ſecretly carried on, by which the phyſical force of the country was prepared, under

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fit leaders, to join the invading foe; in the wild hope that, loyalty and the eſtabliſhed religion being deſtroyed, Ireland would become ſeparated, and the religion of the multitude reign in more than fancied ſplendour. Now it is unfortunately to be remarked, that while Ireland was avowedly and compleatly dependent upon Great Britain, although national proſperity was retarded, yet this country, notwithſtanding occaſional diſcontents and partial diſturbances, was preſerved in perfect ſecurity; and experience has ſhewn, that the removal of reſtrainſts, the enjoyments of privileges, even greater than had been expected, and an independent legiſlature, have not ſtrengthened either our internal ſecurity of our connexion with Great Britain.

Not long before the commencement of French revolutions, a demand for a change in the legiſlature of this country, which ſhould make it more dependent upon popular paſſions and popular arts, was ſo ſyſtematically and ſo boldly made, that parliament ſeemed to be overawed, and the friends of our eſtabliſhed laws and religion trembled for the conſequences. A convention, an armed convention, ſimilar to the late ruling clubs of France, in which members of the legiſlature aſſiſted, framed the plan which was to be dictated to parliament. Fortunately, the influence of the property poſſeſſed in this country by the Engliſh Ariſtocracy, and the diſcernment and firmneſs of many members of the legiſlature, fruſtrated the attempt; and indeed it muſt be owned that, many of the members of that convention, and of the then minority in parliament, have lived to witneſs ſuch proceedings and events, both abroad

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abroad and at home, as have made them regret their opinions and conduct. Conventions, however, succeeded conventions; clubs multiplied upon clubs; popular influence increased and became commanding; and popular measures were repeatedly adopted by the legislatures, some of which, upon the principle of Ireland being a distinct and independent state, were to be approved of, but all of which tended to weaken the controul of Great Britain, necessary to the present state of connexion. But all did not satisfy. The nation became agitated through its whole extent by separatists and renovators. Strides were making towards separation and republicanism. The legislature seemed to look on with amazement. At last, in December 1792, the national guards, as they were affectedly called, were actually preparing, and about to march in full display, as the first act in the dreadful scene, which it was hoped, would, under the direction and aid of France, be soon completely exhibited. A considerable portion of the Roman Catholicks (many, very many of them, without wicked intention, but deceived by plotting conspirators) moved in correspondent system. Roman Catholick parliaments met, discussed and disseminated the principles of insubordination and resistance, and promoted the *general plan of separation*, which had been set on foot by a tribe of active leaders, many of them men of situation and abilities, and followed by no inconsiderable part of the wealth of the country. A party in the state contending for power, and either not seeing or not regarding the consequences, courted popularity, in a moment most eventful, as the instrument of aggrandizement; and then indeed, had not the supreme executive arrested the danger, all things tended,

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as at the commencement of the revolution in France, to produce the effects to be naturally expected, when rank and authority appear to ſanctify popular prejudice and enthuſiaſm. The evil ſwelled into enormous magnitude, grew bold and terrible by impunity and ſucceſs; and but for unprecedented exertions of power, would have perpetrated its deſigns.

This appears to plain ſenſe to be a train of conſequences, naturally flowing from that proud ſpirit of independence and diſtinct authority, which firſt grew with gradual proſperity, which ſtrengthened into overawing aſſertion of perfect equality, which, ſpreading through the community, generated jealouſy and rivalry, and, impregnating the prejudiced and violent multitude, prepared Ireland for the long-deſired and now deep-laid ſcheme of ſeparation.

The opportunities of acquiring property have been multiplied, and conſequently we have ſeen a great diffuſion of wealth among the lower orders of the community: but an attachment to the laws and conſtitution, under the protection and encouragement of which, property has been gained, has not been the conſequence of ſucceſs. On the contrary, a vulgar pride, an impatience of controul, a contempt of authority, have been added to the antient hoſtility; and accordingly, notwithſtanding that conceſſion has ſucceeded conceſſion, yet the chief effect on the minds of thoſe to whom they were granted, has been a loud and imperious demand of new and dangerous grants, which, now that the truth has broken forth, are confeſſed to have been intended

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intended as the means of effecting ſeparation and a modern republick.

Although thoſe demands, as we now clearly know, were ſo intended, yet the number of men of reſpect and influence, who, in a period of awful anxiety, joined in the call for emancipation and reform, was very conſiderable; and had not the deſtructive meaſures of the great conſpiracy been precipitated, it is not improbable that the dangerous opinions might ſo powerfully have prevailed, as ultimately to ſway the legiſlature. At all events we know, that in the very hour of dark conſpiracy, *reform* upon French models, calculated in form and ſpirit to give force and effect to democracy, with *emancipation*, which, under the pretext of religious liberality, was clearly intended to give the ſpirit of democracy extenſive prevalence, were ſplendidly propoſed under the ſanction of great names, and, as in France, ſeconded by the clubs. The executive power no doubt, and the moſt leading men of property deeply intereſted in the welfare of Ireland, deſcried the tendency of ſuch meaſures, and defeated them in that place, where indeed they would ſoon have proved fatal.

But the opinions which greatly prevail in any nation, gain by degrees upon men of condition and influence. Fear operates upon ſome; ambition upon others; the love of popularity upon many; and even the beſt characters often thrown themſelves into a predominant party, in the vain hope of curing or preventing evils by accommodation. The hiſtory of mankind abounds with inſtances of this kind of progreſs: but modern

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France furniſhes an impreſſive example, freſh in our obſervation, and pregnant with inſtruction.

Admit what we hope and expect, that Ireland continues, and, from the nature of proſperity, accelerates her progreſs in riches and power. It is by the people at large the acquiſition is made: great numbers therefore of the lower ranks are daily riſing into wealth and importance; conſequently the immenſe body, which has deeply imbibed principles inimical to our laws and religion, muſt rapidly gain extenſive influence; to be employed, as deſigning demagogues ſhall direct; who, flattering vulgar opulence, not confirmed in loyal principle by ages of uſeful habit, point the power of the country to deſtructive ends. The religious antipathy in the meantime operates; lends pretext to every ſcheme, and gives force to every effort; while the idle and the vicious, the vain, the enthuſiaſtick, and the theoretick, of every religion, or of no religion, ſwell the overpowering multitude of thoſe who demand renovation;—a renovation, purſued no doubt from various motives, and generally plauſible in the commencement, but approaching every hour, by haſtened ſtrides, to total overthrow.

Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo,
Parva metu primo; mox ſeſe attollit in auras.

In ſuch a ſtate of things, no man can be ſo unobſerving of human affairs as to ſuppoſe, that the legiſlature could remain ultimately uninfluenced. In the degree that general property and influence embrace particular opinions, men of the ſame opinions muſt find their way into the legiſlature. What muſt follow? Demands in favour

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vour of democracy become formidable. Demands granted increaſe the power of democracy, and generate new demands. The power of the democracy becomes irreſiſtible: the antient antipathy to England gains ſtrength from that ſpirit of rivalry which grows with towering proſperity; and the deſtructive wiſh for ſeparation is prompted by pride as well as by prejudice.

Ireland then become immenſely powerful, and actuated by diſtinct intereſt and diſtinct patriotiſm, feels herſelf equal to a conteſt with Britain: or if prudence, ſuggeſting ſome diſparity, or apprehenſion of a party remaining favourable to Britain, ſhould look out for aid, a powerful foreign nation, near at hand, is perpetually ready with all its might, to co-operate in the ſubjugation of a power, the object of its envy and the determined foe to its deſigns. The ſeparation of Ireland, the downfall of eſtabliſhment, and the deſtruction of all now held dear by the loyal inhabitants, could not then be far off: and the elevated proſperity of Ireland, with her accumulating wealth and ~~proſperity~~, could in the end ſerve no other purpoſe, than to promote the ambitious deſigns of a malignant enemy, and, in her own ruin, the more certainly to effect the ruin of Great Britain;—in the downfall of which great nation, not only the loyal Proteſtants of Ireland would loſe their grand protector, but the civilized world an example and a defence.

The Union of theſe kingdoms in the ſame crown, or the ſame executive preſiding over both, conſtitutes a bond of connexion, which has hitherto been preſerved. But the legiſlative power, that which creates law, is the

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the ſupreme power in every ſtate: and, in this grand eſſential of ſtate, the moſt vital and the moſt powerful, theſe kingdoms are diſtinct and ſeparate. The legiſlature of Ireland has emphatically aſſerted its compleat diſtinctneſs, by inſiſting on the inſtitution of ſolemn public acts, which accordingly have been made in the parliaments of both countries, whereby the entire independence of the legiſlature of Ireland conſtitutes a ſacred and irrefragable mutual record.

The legiſlature of Ireland, diſtinct and independent, conſults by its diſtinct nature the intereſts only of Ireland: while the Britiſh legiſlature, equally diſtinct and independent, conſults by its diſtinct nature and intereſts only of Great Britain. No doubt, ſo far as a ſenſe of the neceſſity of preſerving the connexion between the two kingdoms may happen to operate upon the two legiſlatures, each will conſult the intereſts of the other country; but from the eſſential nature of diſtinct legiſlatures, ſuch attention to mutual intereſt muſt ultimately refer to the reſpective intereſts of the kingdoms for which they reſpectively legiſlate. In the degree therefore in which the views of the ſeparate legiſlatures reſpecting the intereſts of their reſpective countries, happen from time to time to be incompatible, the legiſlatures, that is, the reſpective ſupreme powers, muſt act in oppoſition to each other. Such intereſts reſpect not merely a progreſs in national wealth, but *right*, and *privilege*, and every *good, real or imaginary*, which can gratify the ſentiments and raiſe the dignity of a nation. The more important the intereſts from which ariſe incompatible views, the more ſtrenuous and violent muſt be the conſequent oppoſition. The more manifold and compli-

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cated thoſe intereſts become, the more frequent and the more incapable of accommodation the contending opinions and claims. If increaſing wealth and power, operating as in all paſt ages, ſhould quicken a jealouſy of intereſt (underſtanding intereſt in the enlarged ſenſe mentioned) and magnify the national pride and ſpirit of independence, the legiſlature, intimately connected with and flowing from the general community, muſt neceſſarily imbibe the ſame ſentiments; which, co-operating with the other cauſes, cannot fail to ripen into deſtructive effect all the ſeeds of diſpute, diſcord, hoſtility, and ſeparation.

Surely no rational man will deny that hiſtory, obſervation, and experience, demonſtrate this to be the nature of man and the neceſſary tendency of human affairs.

It would be an idle as well as tedious diſplay, to take the volume of hiſtory, and extract the innumerable inſtances there recorded, which prove, that in whatever degree provinces or ſtates, connected with, or dependent upon a parent or ſuperiour ſtate, have acquired power and independence, they have diſcovered diſcontent with their connexion, and a deſire to become perfectly diſtinct ſtates; and that whenever that power and independence have grown ſo great as to enable ſuch provinces or ſtates, by their own mere vigour, or with accidental aid, to affect their purpoſe, they have conſtantly aſſerted their perfect diſtinctneſs, and formed themſelves into ſeparate ſtates.

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The ſeparation of the colonies, now the united ſtates of North America, from Great Britain, furniſhes an applicable inſtance. While they were weak and dependent, while a ſenſe of their need of the care and protection of the parent country prevailed, no difficulties embarraſſed the connexion; no diſtinctneſs of intereſt, no provincial pride, pointed to independence and ſeparation: and yet, the rights aſſerted and the powers exerciſed by the legiſlature of England, and afterwards of Great Britain, over the colonies, had long been more authoritative, and more inconſiſtent with the independence of their aſſemblies,* than thoſe which afterwards ſupplied the occaſion of the unhappy conteſt that ended in ſeparation. Thoſe who knew the colonies intimately, were aware long before the rupture, that the advanced ſtate of proſperity at which they had arrived, with the proud ſpirit of independence which it produced, and which from time to time had ſtrongly manifeſted itſelf, tended powerfully to the ultimate diſſolution of the connexion: and ſeveral plans, among others, plans of Union, were ſuggeſted for the purpoſe of preventing it: a modification of ſome one of which might have been adopted, had not untoward circumſtances hurried on the important event. It is not meant either to contend for the right of taxation with Great Britain aſſerted, or to juſtify the colonies in the refuſal of every ſpecifick plan of contribution to the general expence of the empire:—the caſe was difficult;—claims and ſuppoſed intereſts interfered;—and the conſequences followed which might have been apprehended. But the inſtance is adduced, if ſo recent an inſtance were neceſſary

* See Pownall's adminiſtration of the Colonies, ch. 5.

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neceſſary, to demonſtrate, that the connexion between ſtates, not compleatly incorporated, and not identified in intereſt, becomes precarious and mortal, whenever the inferior ſtate advances ſo far in proſperity, as to aſſert independence, and to rival the ſuperiour ſtate in power.*

It is not eaſy to imagine two connected ſtates to which this reaſoning applies more concluſively than to Great Britain and Ireland. They are great and powerful ſtates; which have vaſt, and many, and various connections and tranſactions with each other and with the reſt of the world; therefore their intereſts are important, manifold, and complicated; and conſequently, the probabilities of incompatible opinions in their ſeperate and independent legiſlatures, reſpecting diſtinct national intereſts, muſt be numerous and weighty; and in the degree that theſe ſtates advance in greatneſs and power, ſuch probabilities become multiplied and approach to certainty. Conceive inſtances of this dangerous nature to have frequently recurred, and that in conſequence an invidious and hoſtile diſpoſition has been created. Every plan of accommodation by ſure

* The ſeparation of the Colonies from Great Britain has happily not proved fatal to either country; perhaps has not actually injured either, excepting the temporary evils of the lamented war: the diſtant ſituation of the United States has preſerved them from becoming the prey of the ambitious power which promoted their ſeparation, as well as from becoming in the hands of that power an inſtrument of deſtruction to the parent country. But Ireland, lying cloſe to Great Britain, through whom Britain can be deſtroyed, upon whom if abandoned France fixes her talons—Ireland, ſo ſituated, ſinks for ever, and Great Britain finally along with her.

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conſequence alarms ſuſpicion, and inflames pride; the facility of conſtant diſſenſion neceſſarily follows; and then an unfailing ground is laid for the ſucceſsful intriguing of foreign and domeſtick enemies, who in the meantime will not have neglected, as occaſion favoured, to promote diſcord and diſorder, as the ſure means of the grand ſcheme of ſeparation.*

In this ſtate of the co-equal ſupreme authorities of theſe connected yet independant ſtates, the Britiſh legiſlature may determine that a mighty effort is neceſſary to be made againſt the alarming attempts of an ambitious foe. Admit that the views of ſeparate and independent legiſlatures, now involved in diſſenſions, ſhould be repugnant on a matter ſo eſſential to the exiſtence of the Empire. What muſt follow? Either Britain muſt ſubmit to whatever terms an ambitious power ſhall impoſe, or ſhe muſt maintain alone the cauſe of the Empire. In the firſt caſe, obvious deſtruction quickly ſucceeds. In the latter caſe, it would be impoſſible to permit Ireland to remain neutral:—her power increaſing with rapidity; her people too generally infected with ancient hatred repeatedly revived; demagogues through every claſs of ſociety maliciouſly active to make the occaſion fatal; emiſſaries of the enemy concerting

* In the ſeven United Provinces, the French, ever artful and intriguing whatever form they aſſume, had been long buſy in promoting diſcord among the ſtates. Thoſe ſtates in which the burghers chiefly prevailed, were ſet in fierce oppoſition to thoſe in which the Stadtholder and the nobles chiefly had influence; and by degrees their conteſts, inflamed by incendiaries, ſo diſtracted the national councels and efforts, that they have at laſt become wretched and repentant victims to French ambition.

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deſtructive plans with the diſaffected;—theſe ſure circumſtances muſt neceſſarily, if not prevented by Great Britain, urge the country beyond the line of neutrality, and add its power to the power of the enemy. Civil conteſt enſues, with certainly a train of ſaid calamity, and if Britain ſhould fail, as certainly the ruin of both kingdoms.

This is a ſtrong inſtance; but in the progreſs in national proſperity of theſe kingdoms, many inſtances muſt from time to time occur, tending as certainly, though perhaps not ſo immediately, to hoſtility, ſeparation, and deſtruction. We know that at preſent Ireland enjoys her commerce with the Britiſh colonies, plantations and ſettlements on the expreſs condition, that whatever duties, ſecurities, regulations, and reſtrictions, the Britiſh legiſlature ſhall from time to time think proper to adopt, reſpecting the commerce of Great Britain with the Britiſh colonies, plantations and ſettlements, ſhall be adopted alſo by the legiſlature of Ireland, reſpecting the commerce of Ireland with the ſame colonies, plantations and ſettlements. We alſo know that on many occaſions the ſole and excluſive right of the Iriſh parliament to legiſlate for Ireland in all caſes whatſoever, has been aſſerted in the parliament of Ireland, in the higheſt tone of proud independence; and that the right of the Britiſh legiſlature to interfere actualy or virtually, in any caſe whatſoever, with the legiſlature of Ireland, has been reprobated with indignation. The progreſs of Ireland in thoſe acquiſitions which invigorate the ſpirit of independence, may moſt probably induce the people and parliament of Ireland to conſider, and conſequently to re-

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ject, as inimical to their intereſts, and as inconſiſtent with independence, the duties, regulations and reſtrictions alluded to, which new and various circumſtances may lead the parliament of Great Britain to adopt, and which the ſpirit of jealouſy and rivalry may more probably attribute to an idvidious diſpoſition in the Britiſh legiſlature, directed againſt the intereſts of Ireland, than to neceſſity and ſound policy. What conſequences enſue? Great Britain refuſes the valuable privilege of trading to and from her colonies, plantations and ſettlements; proud independent and powerful Ireland inſiſts upon the privilege as an indiſputable right, and continues the important commerce: Great Britain, as proud independent and powerful reſiſts the exerciſe of the alledged right:—a train of events ending deſtruction neceſſarily follows.

Nay farther. Inferring from experience, it may be pronounced, that Great Britain in her imperial courſe, if not prevented by events to be ever deprecated, will extend her Empire and acquire new fields of excluſive commerce. Theſe advantages will be attended with terms and compacts, reſting upon the ſanction, and ultimately modelled by the wiſdom of parliament. In the meantime, diſtinct intereſts, guided by legiſlatures diſtinct and every day virtually more independent, generate frequent commercial jealouſies. The terms and compacts in thoſe new caſes, agreed to and confirmed by the parliament of Great Britain, may, nay, muſt, often militate with the views of ſeperate intereſt, and the diſtinct national prejudices, of the parliament of Ireland. At the ſame time party leaders of every deſcription, whether actuated by ambition, enthuſiaſm, or diſaffection,

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magnify and inflame diſagreement. Ireland muſt yield, and thereby acknowledge dependence; or the two ſtates muſt be committed. The conſequences, it is plain, would either immediately or by ſure gradations, involve the ſcries of deſtruction we are ſolicitous to prevent.

Another point of view may be ſuggeſted. A ſpirit of reform appears to have taken poſſeſſion of the minds of great numbers in this country, even of many who are ſincerely attached to our conſtitution civil and religious. The meaſure of reform has been occaſionally propoſed in the legiſlature of Great Britain; and there are many reſpectable characters in that country who think that ſome reform, in a leſs turbulent and more auſpicious ſeaſon, might be uſefully adopted. In Great Britain, from the union of the people, from the general attachment to the eſtabliſhed laws and religion, and from the deep and ſteady intereſt with all ranks feel in the preſervation of their conſtitution, it is moraly certain, that whatever reform may take place there, will be moderate, cautious, and conſtitutional. But in Ireland, where the principles of jacobiniſm have been ſo deeply inbibed and ſo extenſively propagated, and where the antipathies of contending ſects, and the jealouſy of Engliſh dominion, have ſo long fermented in the community, there is powerful reaſon to apprehend, that, the opinions of a diſtinct nation influencing a diſtinct legiſlature, the independence of the parliament of Ireland would exhibit itſelf, in the adoption of a reform, different from that in Great Britain. Reform, by its own nature, has a tendency to beget reform; but among an unſteady people, not ſtrongly attached to eſtabliſhed laws, it propagates

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pagates more rapidly and more daringly. The natural conſequence of ſuch progreſs muſt be, that the reforms of the two ſtates, would in due courſe ſo far diverge, as neceſſarily to produce the ſeparation which our enemies purſue, but which we anxiouſly ſeek to avoid.

This may perhaps be anſwered by ſuggeſting, that the oppoſition parties in the two legiſlatures have very well underſtood each other on the ſubject of reform; and that they not only concerted together the means of carrying their purpoſe in a parliamentary way, but the oppoſition in England were employed to take up the cauſe of the Iriſh conſpiracy in the Britiſh parliament, whereby, had they ſucceeded in their profeſſed views, the rebellion would have gained countenance and ſtrength, reſiſtance on the part of the executive would have been retarded and weakened, Ireland might have been loſt, and Great Britain at laſt have become a victim to the ſchemes of jacobiniſm. A proof this, as demonſtrative as matters of a political nature admit, that ſeparate and independent legiſlatures in one Empire, tend to diſunion and weakneſs, muſt often prove embarraſſing and dangerous, and, in a period of great political movement among ſurrounding nations, may occaſion actual deſtruction. Think but for a moment on the leading circumſtances of theſe two kingdoms:—ſo peculiarly ſituated on the maps of Europe; ſo ſlightly connected, yet ſo eſſentially diſtinct; ſo different in the prevailing though the ſame in the eſtabliſhed religion; ſo expoſed to machinations at home and to hoſtilities from abroad; but particularly, the inferior country, hitherto dependent, now ſo progreſſive in power and independence;—and then ſay, is it poſſible, from all that we know of the

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the hiſtory and nature of man, to conceive that, without a miracle, two kingdoms ſo circumſtanced, can continue long in any amicable or uſeful connexion, or can avoid ultimately a hoſtile ſeparation.

Great Britain and Ireland, all the loyal are agreed, ought to be one in the enjoyment of the ſame conſtitution, and one in a common intereſt: and in truth, it has been the regret of the beſt friends to Ireland, that whether from a leſs advanced ſtate of ſociety, or from the unhappy difference in religion, or from whatever cauſes, the Britiſh conſtitution has not been ſo compleatly enjoyed, or ſo compleatly operative, here as in Great Britain; and we all know that the intereſts of the two countries, have been too generarly conſidered and acted upon, as diſtinct and even incompatible. But while the legiſlatures, the ſupreme powers in the two nations, remain ſeparate and independent, no common ſyſtem can poſſibly operate to preſerve a common intereſt, and to ſupport and improve a common conſtitution. Separate legiſlatures therefore, differently connected, and differently intereſted, muſt neceſſarily, ſo far as they are independent, adopt different views and ſentiments on theſe leading points. And accordingly, within a few years paſt, while virtual dependence ſtill remained, though no doubt conſiderably weakened, we have found this occaſion palpably verified on two important occaſions; and what is remarkable, thoſe occaſions occurred after, and not very long after, the repeal of the Britiſh ſtatute which declared the right of the Britiſh legiſlature to bind Ireland, and the renunciation of the right itſelf. The firſt of thoſe differences of deciſion in the two legiſlatures, was upon a ſubject of commercial compact

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compact and regulation, which, if it could have been effected, would in the opinion of those who best understand the interests of this country, and who were most attached to the connexion between the two kingdoms, have materially contributed to prevent the dangers of disunion, and to promote mutual cordiality and benefit. But the subject being of a nature which necessarily led to the discussion of the distinct interest, and the constitutional rights and independence of Ireland, and consequently a subject into which jealousy and pride easily intruded, party spirit, supported by a zealous popularity, had full opportunity to operate, and succeeded in defeating a measure of great publick utility. The other was an occasion of greater moment. But because, among the lesser cabals of jealousy and rivalry, it stands pre-eminent as a successful instance of dangerous advantage taken of a state of political weakness in Great Britain, it has been treated lightly as a solitary example: yet, when so soon after the confirmation of the compleat independence of the Irish legislature, we find a vast majority prepared to commit the executive authority into the hands of a regency, with powers materially distinct from those then about to be limited by the British legislature, we rationally conclude, notwithstanding all that has been said of the operation of good sense and regard to mutual good, that whenever new occasions should arise, the same spirit of independence, grown more confirmed and vigorous, and actuated by the constantly operating motives of ambition, self-interest and party zeal, would impel to similarly dangerous conduct, but probably with destructive effect. We say, the same spirit of independence;—because, although it is well known, that the subsequent conduct of that majority,

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too clearly evinced other motives of action, yet, had the parliament of Ireland been ſubject to the ſame dependence and controul as formerly, the act of the Britiſh parliament would have bound Ireland in a matter of ſuch imperial concern, and no ſuch embarraſſing and alarming event could have taken place: beſides, though an independent ſpirit in the individual is always attended with other valuable qualities, yet, in party commotion, we often find the meaneſt characters rallying round the ſtandard of independence with hollow and deſtructive views; juſt as, among the jacobin preachers on political purity and bliſs, we daily ſee cold-blooded theoriſts, whoſe individual benevolence is waſted in their univerſal philanthropy.

Such an unhappy cauſe as then made a regency neceſſary might eaſily be of very long continuance, during which wars and conſpiracies might eaſily afflict the country. Theſe kingdoms, in the midſt of danger and diſtraction, would then labour under the additional embarraſſment, of being governed, not only by ſeparate legiſlatures, but by diſtinct and inconſiſtent executive authorities: And upon the ſame principles which enabled the legiſlature of Ireland, to inveſt the regency with powers diſtinct from thoſe limited by the legiſlature of Great Britain, a different *perſon* might be entruſted with thoſe powers, whereby the rage of party would aggravate and enforce all the diſtraction and inconſiſtency of diſtinct legiſlative and executive authorities. The occaſions for diſſenſion between the legiſlatures are as numerous as the ſubject matters of legiſlation which touch both kingdoms. Such ſubject matters multiply with the progreſs of theſe nations and of ſurrounding ſtates; and

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the probability as well as danger of diſſenſion, riſe with the importance of the matter, and in the degree that it involves the intereſts and ſentiments of the community. To the immenſe hordes of jacobins and ſeparatiſts, legiſlative diſſentions give alarming force: they increaſe their numbers, diſunite the loyal, and furniſh legalized ground for intrigue, conſpiracy, and all the political machinations that ultimately threaten the national exiſtence. In the probable recurrence therefore, of differences between the two legiſlatures upon important ſubjects, the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers of Union acknowledge manifeſt danger to the imperial ſtate; and propoſe to guard againſt ſuch recurrence by compacts, which ſhall provide, that whenever the legiſlature of Great Britain ſhall adopt certain important meaſures, the legiſlature of Ireland ſhall be bound to concur: and as a commencement and a ſpecimen, an idle and inefficacious bill was introduced laſt ſeſſion, with the profeſſed purpoſe of ſupplying ſuppoſed defects in the exiſting laws, reſpecting the matter of regency, and of preventing in future, the poſſibility of difference between the two legiſlatures, upon any queſtion ſimilar to that which ſo nearly committed theſe kingdoms in 1789. All ſuch remedies, however, are as futile as they are inconſiſtent with the now loudly profeſſed principles of thoſe who propoſe them, and are calculated for no other purpoſe than to rouſe the ſpirit of independence into diſorder and violence. By the act of annexation the king of England enjoys the title and prerogatives of king of Ireland by virtue of his being king of England, and the crown of Ireland is expreſsly united and knit to the imperial crown of the realm of England. Now, as has been juſtly and incontrovertibly obſerved, the crown, that

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that is, the executive authority ruling the realm of Ireland, can be, by virtue of this act, no other than the executive authority ruling the realm of England; and consequently, the person exercising that authority in both realms must be the same, and invested with the same prerogatives or powers. But the person who shall enjoy the royal authority, the line of succession in which it shall descend, and the regulation and limitation of its powers, are subject to the controul of the British legislature: and therefore, in every new case that can happen respecting royalty, the parliament of Ireland, by the act of annexation, is bound to await the decision of the parliament of Great Britain.* The case of regency was fully provided for. But if any explanation or confirmation was wanting, the act of the Irish legislature in 1782, whereby it is enacted, that no bill shall pass into a law in Ireland unless it be returned under the great seal of Great Britain, was fully adequate to convince the parliament of Ireland, that until the regent was appointed and invested by the British legislature, they could not, consistently with their own settled principles of connexion, proceed one step in the important business, but were bound merely to recognise the decisions of the parliament of Great Britain on that subject; and indeed it is remarkable to recollect, that in the debate on the regency in the year 1789, the force of this act was strenuously urged by a gentleman in office, who on that occasion, acted such a manly, disinterested,

* See a condensed demonstrative and eloquent speech, delivered by William Johnson, Esq; in the debate on the regency bill, last session of parliament.

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and loyal part, as then gained him deſerved reſpect, and will ever reflect upon him true honour.

" His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;
" Nor number, nor example with him wrought
" To ſwerve from truth, or change his conſtant mind—"

Yet, in defiance of law, remonſtrance, and conſiſtency, the popular paramount principle, that independent Ireland ought not to be bound formally or virtually in any caſe whatſoever, by the Britiſh legiſlature, influenced a full parliamentary aſſembly of Ireland, ſeconded by whatever other motives, to commit to hazard the harmony and deareſt intereſt of both ſtates. But we are notwithſtanding, told moſt confidently, that this act of the year 1782 effectually ſecures union and connexion on a firm and laſting baſe, becauſe forſooth it makes the Britiſh miniſter anſwerable to the Britiſh nation, if any law ſhould receive the royal aſſent in Ireland, which could in any way injure the empire, be incompatible with its imperial intereſts, or tend to ſeparate Ireland.* The royal negative is a prerogative of a very delicate nature, and the right has lain ſo long unexerciſed, that in an ordinary caſe it would have become obſolete and extinguiſhed. Differences may occur between the concurrent determinations of the two houſes of parliament and the real intereſts of the nation, in which the king's diſſent may rightfully and uſefully intervene for the publick good: yet even theſe caſes muſt be attended with great clearneſs: for otherwiſe, parliament and the king might be committed in a doubtful ſtruggle for predominance, of the ſad effects of which, Great Britain once had fatal experience. But delicate and dangerous

* The Speaker's Speech, page 24.

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as muſt always be the caſes, wherein this prerogative interferes between the parliament and the nation, of infinitely greater alarm would any caſe prove, in which the prerogative ſhould be called into exerciſe between the legiſlatures of the two kingdoms. What would the independent legiſlature of Ireland regard the reſponſibility of the Britiſh miniſter? How eaſily could they vote any man an enemy to his country, who ſhould dare to ſupport the right of the crown of England, or the right of the miniſter to adviſe the crown, to ſuppreſs the concurrent determination of both houſes of the parliament of Ireland, as they formerly voted any man an enemy to his country, who ſhould dare to enforce the right of the tithe of agiſtment, whereby the burthen was thrown upon the potatoes of the poor, in that great province where grazing has chiefly prevailed? The very circumſtance, of the Britiſh miniſter adviſing his majeſty to, refuſe the royal aſſent to a bill paſſed by the Iriſh parliament, would inevitably inflame the legiſlature, and rouſe the nation of Ireland. Would the Britiſh miniſter be acknowledged a better or fitter judge of the intereſt of Ireland, or even of imperial intereſts, than the co-equal and independent legiſlature of Ireland? Would not the miniſter be rather repreſented as acting under the influence of the Britiſh legiſlature, as ſacrificing the intereſts of Ireland to thoſe of Britain, and as inſulting the dignity and independence of a diſtinct kingdom? Would there be no pſeudo-patriots, no factious demagogues in parliament, and no jacobin ſeparatiſts and conſpirators out of parliament, ready to fan the flame, and to haſten the conflagration of two great ſtates? It would be idle to purſue farther a matter ſo palpable. But, the weakneſs of the confident concluſion alluded

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to, as well as of several others, of an extraordinary nature, delivered to parliament in a high tone of popular authority*, has been ingeniously exposed by an able member of parliament, who early supported with manly eloquence, in the face of prejudice, the utility of legislative union.† It is evident, however, that the compacts and provisions whereby the legislature of Ireland should be bound to adopt the acts of the British legislature, must be as wide as the whole sphere of imperial concerns; for otherwise, whatever remained would leave the two legislatures so far exposed to all the consequences of difference, upon the innumerable and weighty imperial concerns which must arise in the imperial and distinct progress of two powerful, proud, and independent kingdoms. But to adopt such remedies, would be, to make Ireland virtually a dependent province of the empire, limited to its own internal legislation; and in truth, they would soon effect no other purpose, than to produce new and more alarming differences, and furnish opportunities to the multitude of separatists, to perpetrate their designs: for, it is inconsistent with the plainest reason, that as Ireland advances in riches and power, her sentiments of dignity and independence will become less vivid and active; or that

* Among others—that, because it has been found useful in the British constitution, that to the creation of law, the concurrence of several branches of the same legislature or supreme authority should be necessary, therefore it may be useful, that in the same empire or state should exist two supreme and independent authorities, equally invested with the power of making law in all respects whatsoever. This surely needs only to be announced.

† See a review of a publication, entitled, the Speech of the Right Hon. John Foster, by William Smith, Esq.

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the legiſlature, which, under the influence of national ſentiments, formerly commanded the repeal of the ſixth of Gorge the firſt, would not contend for the honour, and the paramount right, of deciding on all the eſſential concerns of the Imperial ſtate, equally with the legiſlature of Great Britain.

Let it not be ſaid (it is too offenſive to the plaineſt underſtanding) that good ſenſe and mutual intereſt and affection have ſecured and will ever ſecure the connexion and harmony of theſe kingdoms.* The degree of good ſenſe and benevolence floating in any community, would operate to very little effect, in preſerving the harmony or even the exiſtence of an individual ſtate, if there was not a ſupreme authority veſted in ſome part of it, ſufficiently powerful to enforce neceſſary regulations, and to deter or repreſs the deſtructive efforts of folly, paſſion, and vice. Still leſs can good ſenſe and fleeting ſentiment ſecure, or have they ever ſecured, the harmony of diſtinct ſtates, which happen to be ſo ſituated or related, that queſtions of national intereſt, and diſtinct national claims, make frequent ſubjects for diſcuſſion and adjuſtment. The legiſlature of Ireland has adopted the exiſting navigation law enacted by the Britiſh legiſlature, and the parliament of Great Britain has permitted the importation of colonial produce from Ireland, therefore we are aſſured that all ſubjects of jealouſy and contention are for ever done away, and that every thing which human wiſdom can deviſe has been effected for the perpetual ſecurity of

* See the Speaker's Speech page 51.

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our connexion. But these acts of the respective legislatures have effected no more than daily takes place between states which happen to be in amity, but between which incompatible interests and inveterate antipathy create frequent and bitter wars. Regulations, apparently for mutual interest, are agreed upon and ratified. They may be observed for a long time, and produce mutual benefit; but when new cases arise, contending interests occur, or different parties rule, the fabrick of amity dissolves, and dissension and hostility rage unconfined. *That* government must surely be acknowledged best, which provides for the most and worst contingencies, and which most effectually guards against the disorders produced by human passions. Every day, new subjects of difference, and calling for adjustment, must by necessity arise between great and distinct nations, whose situations involve them in any important relations; and in every one of these differences must as necessarily mingle all the plottings and workings of ambition, party spirit, self interest, and wicked cunning. Identity of interest and identity of dominion and controul, therefore, can alone permanently preserve the harmony and connexion of great and independent states. The instances of dissension and incompatible pretensions, which have occurred within the few years of declared independence, proclaim aloud the danger of future discord: the progress of these nations accumulates matter for discord: society is every where impregnated with principles hostile to political harmony: and an enemy bent upon our ruin, watches, and will ever watch the moment of our weakness and disunion. It would

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would be the madneſs of folly not to deſcry and prevent the danger before deſtruction becomes inevitable.

In whatever contentions in parliament from time to time take place, the ſelf intereſt and the influence of the ſuperior country muſt, nay actually do, conſtitute the ſubjects for reſiſtance and popular harangue. The more independent and powerful the inferiour country, the more univerſally and fatally national intereſt and national pride become neceſſarily rouſed, by this perpetually recurring cauſe of diſcontent and diſunion; eſpecially when inflamed by all thoſe arts which the political adventurer and the factious demagogue employ, and which in no former days were employed with more deſtructive effect. Have ancient cauſes, in barbarous time, created hate? Have mutual injuries occaſionally revived and aggravated antipathy? All are viciouſly diſplayed, painted with invidious colouring, and converted into pretexts, for infuſing and diſſeminating, every opinion and principle, baneful to uſeful or permanent connexion.

Who can pretend to be blind to the effects which muſt follow to two diſtinct and powerful nations, whoſe deepeſt intereſt requires that they ſhould uniformly act as one, but between whom, in former times, ſo many ſad cauſes of offence and rancour ſubſiſted, and in whoſe independent claims, various purſuits, and increaſing greatneſs, lurk ſo many contingencies fruitful of diſcord?

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The uniformly operating principles of our nature assure us, that the jealousy of distinct interest will progressively aggravate these alarming tendencies. *That* jealousy has frequently been roused, as we have all seen, and as we have been assured by the leading opposer of Union. *That* jealousy must increase (as we have been told by the same authority) with two independent legislatures; it must still farther increase as the objects of interest become more numerous and important; and, national interest is so interwoven with political regulation, that common sense concurs with the same authority in concluding, that without a united interest, political Union will receive many shocks, and separation of interest must threaten separation of connexion.

What can prevent a progress of this nature from terminating in destruction, but an overbearing influence, which in its turn, creates new disgust, indispose to mutual amity, and prevents the two kingdoms from gaining the full effect of those advantages with which nature and cultivation have supplied them.

If, however, compleat Union cannot be effected, the only hope then remaining for the permanency of our connexion is, that the virtual dependence of the legislature of Ireland upon the legislature of Great Britain may be inviolably secured. The executive, as has been observed, is no doubt the immediate instrument to secure that dependence; but the executive can act only by the aid and under the controul of the supreme power, the legislature of the state: and it is too plain for controversy, that unless the legislature of Ireland had been ultimately controuled by the supreme power of

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of Great Britain, and rendered to all ſubſtantial effect dependent, Ireland could not have been preſerved in that connexion which has been deemed neceſſary to the well being and even exiſtence of both kingdoms. Party rage, joined to popular commotion, and aided by foreign intrigue and power, muſt in ſome of the many periods of difficulty, have long ſince produced ſeparation, or ſuch ſubjection as is totally inconſiſtent with any degree of publick proſperity.

But the growth of this country has been ſuch, as at length to reſiſt and ſpurn dependence. It has rivalled the ſuperiour, or as it may ſubſtantially be called, the Parent Country, and has claimed, almoſt enforced, a perfect equality of rights: and the legiſlatures are now profeſſedly and by ſolemn declaration compleatly independent, and, if ſuch an expreſſion can properly be uſed, equally ſupreme. There is therefore no rightful dependence whatſoever, no avowed regular means by which to preſerve the neceſſary dependence; and conſequently, the means to be uſed muſt be irregular, unjuſtifiable, and offenſive, and as ſuch cannot fail to furniſh additional cauſes of diſcontent and diſſenſion. The growth of diſtinct Ireland in power, muſt certainly render this dependence the more precarious, and conſequently, render means more powerful neceſſary. Ireland, advancing in power and dignity, could not but feel and act as all other nations have felt and acted in ſimilar ſituations. Her people, through all their ranks, would imbibe the ſpirit of reſiſtance. We are well aware how, and by whom, the occaſion would be improved; and looking at the preſent transformed ſtate

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of ſurrounding nations, we cannot think on the conſequence without the deepeſt anxiety.

To whatever ſide we turn, we are aſſailed by new difficulties and diſtractions, and can find no ground on which to build a ſtable hope of laſting and uſeful connexion, while the ſupreme authorities in the imperial ſtate remain diſtinct. But by a Union of the two legiſlatures, liberally and wiſely adjuſted, in which the eſſence and form of the Britiſh conſtitution ſhould be compleatly preſerved, every ground for recurrence to former offences and animoſities, or to their unhappy effects, and all jealouſy ariſing from diſtinct national intereſt and diſtinct national pride, would be for ever done away. The only influence then to be exerciſed, would be that of the executive, flowing from and maintained by the conſtitution, for the purpoſe of preſerving the neceſſary equipoiſe of the ſeveral powers and orders of the one great ſtate, and of carrying on with promptitude and effect the neceſſary meaſures of national concern. There could not then be diſtinct laws for different parts of the ſame Empire; but in like manner as the great ſecurity of the civil liberty of the ſubject, under the Britiſh Conſtitution, conſiſts in this unalterable fact, that whatever laws the members of the legiſlature enact, bind themſelves and all their intereſts and connexions, equally with thoſe for whom they legiſlate, ſo the laws to be enacted in the common legiſlature, could not bind or affect any diſtrict or diviſion of the united kingdoms excluſively, but muſt equally affect all and every part, and by uniform operation, produce not a diſtinct but a common intereſt; and in conformity with the opinion of the late Doctor Franklin,

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Franklin, reſpecting Great Britain and the colonies, we might expect, " that by ſuch a Union the people of " Great Britain and the people [of Ireland] would " learn to conſider themſelves, not as belonging to dif- " ferent communities with different intereſts, but to one " community with one intereſt; which would contribute " to ſtrengthen the whole, and greatly leſſen the danger " of future ſeparations."*

The members to be ſent by Ireland to the common legiſlature of the two kingdoms, would be conſiderably leſs in number than the preſent legiſlature of Ireland; the members for the commons, as we have now good reaſon to believe, would be chiefly, if not entirely, choſen by the counties and great towns; while the lords of parliament would be choſen by the great body of the nobility: The repreſentation of Ireland therefore, would contain at once, the higheſt birth, the moſt independent property, the beſt education, and the firſt abilities. Such a number of leading characters, deeply intereſted in the welfare of the country, and placed on ſo conſpicuous a theatre, could not ſee, with indifference or without reſiſtance, any attempts of palpable partiality or injuſtice: and truly, any attempts of ſuch a nature muſt be palpable indeed; for, what would they be? They would be attempts in a common legiſlature, to act the part of a ſeparate, nay hoſtile legiſlature; and certainly, great ingenuity as well as great violence would be neceſſary, to enact laws, calculated to diſſerve one third of the common territory, for the purpoſe of ſerving the remaining part. Indeed ſuch a ſyſtem ſeems to be

* See his Letter to Governor Shirley, dated 22nd Dec 1754.

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impoſſible in its own nature; for, ſo nearly ſimilar, in all the leading features and circumſtances, has nature formed and placed theſe iſlands, that it is not in human power to frame a regulation, which ſhould ſerve Great Britain at large, and which would not alſo ſerve Ireland at large, or regulation which ſhould diſſerve Ireland at large, and which would not diſſerve Great Britain at large. No doubt laws could be conceived which might ſerve ſome particular town or towns, diſtrict or diſtricts, of either country, to the detriment of the great remaining part of both countries. But in a parliament compoſed of the leading intereſts of the united kingdoms, in which ſo many of the moſt liberal and enlightened characters of the age would always act a commanding part, it is not in human credulity to believe, that the local intereſt, the narrow policy, of a particular town or diſtrict, could influence the lords and commons, in violation of reaſon, in defiance of opinion, in deſtruction of the common intereſt, and in diminution of national ſtrength, to conſpire in ſacrificing the great to the little, the whole to a part.

All reaſoning from what the parliament of Great Britain has done, or would probably do, as a ſeparate legiſlature, is totally inapplicable to the preſent ſubject, even if all were found that has been invidiouſly inſinuated.

In all ſuch caſes, a ſeparate legiſlature guards and promotes a ſeparate intereſt; and the laws deemed partial, operate by way of privilege and protection, in favour of the ſubjects of a diſtinct kingdom, as againſt a foreign ſtate, ſo far as a diſtinct intereſt is concerned.

But

But a united parliament can have no ſeparate intereſt to conſult. The whole united people of Great Britain and Ireland become the ſubjects of its legiſlative care: in its compoſition would be found not only the proper repreſentation of Ireland, but alſo many reſpectable repreſentatives for Great Britain, as deeply intereſted in their own property for the peculiar welfare of Ireland as for that of Great Britain: the ſubject matters to be diſcuſſed would be ſubjects of common intereſt, could be preſented only in that form, and muſt preclude all invidious debate as between diſtinct ſtates: while the frequency of deliberation on the common intereſt of the ſubjects of both iſlands, could not fail, operating by the ſure principle of habit, to create and ſtrengthen in the legiſlature, the ſentiment and principle of a common intereſt, and by neceſſity diffuſe the ſentiment and principle through the conſtituent body, the whole united community.

Two mighty inſtances indeed have been vehemently urged and idly repeated, not of partial laws, but of laws unjuſtly, as it is ſaid, and in breach of faith, enacted as againſt Scotland in the parliament of Great Britain; and theſe are relied on as proof, that the intereſts of Ireland as well as of Scotland, would be ſacrificed after a Union, to the intereſts of England. But theſe inſtances have been ſo clearly and repeatedly proved to be unfounded, that it would be tedious, as it is unneceſſary, to repeat, or to add to, the refutation. It may be proper however to remark, that from the part taken by the Scotch members of parliament in the matter of the malt tax, it cannot eaſily be ſhewn, that they were indifferent to the intereſts of their particular country;

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country; nor in truth can it be ſhewn, that in any matter in which the intereſts of Scotland have come into diſcuſſion, the Scotch repreſentatives have not ſtrenuouſly ſupported them. The proceeding on the occaſion of the malt tax proves to have been merely an effort of the then oppoſition, to give to a quibble more effect than to ſubſtantial and equal juſtice. The act which placed Scotland on the ſame footing as England in reſpect to the law of high treaſon, is acknowledged by thoſe who invidiouſly adduce it, to have been for the benefit of Scotland; while on examination it appears to have been enacted in exact purſuance of an article of the Union. We may therefore, in oppoſition to modern calumny, continue to give credit to the moſt reſpectable hiſtorians of the times ſubſequent to the Union, who concur in teſtimony, to the good faith and impartiality of the parliament of Great Britain in obſervance of the compact, as well as to the many and laſting benefits which have reſulted to Scotland from the Union, notwithſtanding the gloomy and inflammatory forebodings (long ſince falſified) of Lockart, Fletcher and Lord Belhaven.

The leader of the oppoſition to Union is ſenſible of the failure of all ſuch inſtances in proving a breach of compact, that, in the whole of his long ſpeech, he pretends not to adduce or to ſupport one: and even when he attempts to ſhew, that by the income tax the articles of Union are virtually broken, yet he diſavows any inſinuation that the meaſure is a breach of any article of the Union, or that it was intended to evade it.* The

* Speaker's Speech, page 96.

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weakneſs and futility of his endeavour to ſhew that by this meaſure the articles of Union are virtually broken, ſerve to confirm rather than weaken our reliance on a united legiſlature. He ſays, that by annihilating the meaſure of a land tax, another is raiſed by the name of the income tax. But the land tax is not annihilated; it remains ſubſtantially as it was; it is merely diſpoſed of in order to raiſe a large principal ſum for the exigencies of the ſtate; and whether the proprietor of an eſtate purchaſes in, or continues to pay the tax, is to all real effect the ſame. But if it were annihilated, the effect would be the ſame in Scotland as in England: the tax according to the proportions agreed on at the Union would be done away as to both countries: and all other taxes, whatever they were or might be, would remain the ſame. But how the annihilation of the land tax, ſuppoſing it annihilated, produced the income tax, is moſt inconceivable. The large ſum ariſing from the ſale of the land tax, we ſhould more naturally expect, would have precluded the neceſſity of the income tax; for the income tax has not been raiſed to pay the intereſt of loans, or in any reſpect to ſtand in the place of ordinary taxes, but is expreſsly adopted in place of a loan, and ſo far to preclude the neceſſity of loan or of permanent taxes. The propoſition therefore is as inconſiſtent as it is unfounded, and by the by is equally irrelevant. The lands of Scotland, by the articles of Union, were, he ſays, to pay only one-fortieth of the Britiſh land tax; but he adds, an income tax has taken place; and income ariſes out of land; and eſtimating Scotland in her income at one-eighth of England, her lands will therefore pay henceforward one-eighth inſtead of one-fortieth of what thoſe of England do.

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Now, in order to give any ſemblance of reaſon to this argument, it muſt be previouſly ſhewn that the proportion of land tax for Scotland, was at the Union, moſt abſurdly and unjuſtly, adopted as the ratio of all other taxes to be paid by Scotland; for no tax was ever invented, or can be conceived, which is not paid out of income; and whether a man pays a certain amount, by the name of an income tax, in the form of one-tenth of his revenues, or in the form of taxes upon conſumption, window lights, hearth money, or the like, makes not to common ſenſe the ſlighteſt difference. But we know, for we are accurately informed by the hiſtorians of that day, that the proportion of land tax was not adopted as the ratio of other contributions, but was merely a regulation of that particular tax then ſubſiſting in England, adopted according to circumſtances. Many objections had been made as to the different modes in the two countries of valuing the lands, of ſetting them, of the payment of rents, and of levying and paying in the ſums charged upon land; which rendered it difficult to adjuſt this tax equitably by any rate or valuation; and therefore, to accommodate all differences, and to ſmooth the way for ſo deſirable a purpoſe as they were about to accompliſh, the commiſſioners agreed that, as to this particular tax, whenever it ſhould be laid on, Scotland ſhould pay a certain fixed ſum, in the event of England paying another certain ſum, and ſo in proportion. But this mode of regulating a particular tax was never till now dreamt of as a ſtandard for regulating any other taxes, whether called cuſtoms, exciſe, aſſeſſment, or contributions of income. Be the land tax exiſting or annihilated, diſpoſed of for a principal ſum, or remaining as a tax with government, all other taxes

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remain as before, and regulated in the long uſed and acknowledged way. This inſinuation therefore, or diſavowal of an inſinuation, inſtead of ſerving, mars the purpoſe for which it is inſinuated.

There is no reaſon then for apprehenſion, that the legiſlature of a great nation, like united Britain and Ireland, would ſacrifice the intereſts of one great and eſſential part to thoſe of another; nor, if the apprehenſion were rational, can it be conceived, that the executive could countenance ſuch abſurd ſchemes, evidently deſtructive of the well-being and ſafety of the whole over which it preſides, and tending to weaken as well as degrade the government: but even if the vicious folly were poſſible, a penetrating and active oppoſition, joined to the members for the great portion of the ſtate, againſt which the weak and wicked conſpiracy would be formed muſt expoſe and defeat ſuch wild attempts.

In the preſent ſtate of connexion indeed, which becomes neceſſarily more ſlight and precarious as Ireland becomes mighty, mighty to deſtroy as well as to ſupport Great Britain, it would not be ſurpriſing if the Britiſh legiſlature were to conſider the intereſt of the two countries as incompatible. An invidious ſpirit has been long carefully kept alive among us; and, whatever has been ſuppoſed to ſerve the intereſts of Great Britain, has been generally repreſented, for that reaſon, as baneful to the intereſts of Ireland. Hence the cry for non-importation agreements, and the demands of prohibitory duties, hoſtile bounties, and the like; which, ſo far as carried into practice, have hurt our own valua-

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ble exports in a far greater degree than they have diminiſhed the imports from Britain; and at the ſame time have been productive of jealouſy and hoſtile regulations on the other ſide: a ſpirit and a conduct on the part of both, no doubt, almoſt equally deſtructive.*

But if we conſider the political principles, peculiarly inimical to Britain and the Britiſh conſtitution, ſo ſedulouſly propagated, which have not only poſſeſſed the unthinking maſs of our people, but have put in motion ſo many of the educated; if we add the unfortunately divided ſtate of this country as to religion; and then review the deſtructive progreſs of France through Europe, and recollect her malignity to Britain as the grand obſtacle to her deſigns; can any rational underſtanding conclude, that it remains the intereſt of Great Britain, to regard the intereſt of Ireland as her own, and to uſe every means for the promotion of a diſtinct proſperity, which neceſſarily conferring power, may ultimately exalt an implacable foe, upon the ruins of that grand ſyſtem of civilization, which it has coſt induſtry, wiſdom, and patriotiſm, ages to erect?

On the contrary, if the repreſentatives from every part of theſe iſlands, conſtitute the legiſlature for the whole of Great Britain and Ireland, all the acts of which equally affect both united kingdoms, then are the intereſts of all ſo bound up together, that the motives which have hitherto influenced the legiſlatures for the diſtinct kingdoms, to prefer diſtinct intereſts, are wholly taken away; nay, the ſubject matter no longer remains;

* See Lord Sheffield's Obſervation on the Trade of Ireland.

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for there can be no ſeparate national intereſt in any part or member of a conſolidated ſtate, the national intereſt and the common intereſt being then one and the ſame. The laws cannot operate partially; for the ſame laws are made for the whole, and there is no ſeparate intereſt to be promoted. Partial regards and invidious conſiderations affect the laws of neighbouring ſtates; for the intereſts of neighbouring ſtates have been, from the beginning of time, almoſt conſtantly in oppoſition: but in one undivided ſtate, the national intereſt, the grand object of legiſlation, being the ſame, partial regards as oppoſed to a common intereſt, howſoever they may influence individuals, cannot materially affect the general law. We do not find that partial attachments operate in the legiſlature of Great Britain, to the detriment of any part, or to the benefit of any part, in oppoſition to the common intereſt; but, whatever may be the ſtruggle of party for political power, and whatever differences of opinion on publick meaſures may take place, we never hear of the intereſt of any particular diſtrict being oppoſed to the national proſperity. Partial attachments muſt ever be various in a numerous legiſlature, and therefore counteract each other; beſides, the fear of ſucceſsful oppoſition to partial meaſures; reſpect for opinion; regard for a common cauſe, which the habits of conſulting on the grand ſubjects of publick policy naturally beget; the uſeful intermixture of opinions, flowing from conſtant intercourſe and diſcuſſion; theſe, and innumerable combinations of ſimilar nature concur to create, union of views, and union of exertion, to a common good.

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In such a consolidation of interests, the prosperity and power of every part, form the prosperity and power, and contribute to the stability of the whole. Consequently, in the united legislature, engaged in advancing the wealth and greatness, not of a separate state, but of one undivided and inseparable state, every encouragement that an enlightened zeal for national interest could give, would be extended to every beneficial exertion of every part of the perfectly united empire. The united parliament would be composed, not of a narrow aristocracy attended by a tribe of devoted and uninformed dependents, but of the numerous great interest of the united kingdoms, aided by the various and extensive information of every profession, art, and occupation, of a most active, prosperous and enlightened nation. Unembarrassed by the contending claims of distinct and rival states, such a legislature, therefore, would be at once actuated by motive and furnished with ability, to call forth every latent power, and to cherish every rising effort, in the promotion of particular, and consequently of general, industry and prosperity. One part of a great state, from produce, situation, or habit, is often capable of cultivating a valuable art, which is, both physically and morally, beyond reach of another. This fact in an extended territory takes place to manifold effect; and by being skilfully improved, tends to multiply the riches and resources of a country. Such advantages flow, in a considerable degree, even from intercourse with foreign states; but, in far greater proportion, and to happier effect, in the various and multiplied relations of different parts of the same country, whereby the peculiar industry, and products, and wants, of various

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ous diſtricts, contribute reciprocally to the proſperity of each, and, in entire effect, to the enlarged proſperity of the whole ſtate. Hence, various and extenſive interchange of benefits neceſſarily begets correſponding intercourſe; real intereſt becomes better underſtood; prejudice ſubmit to experience; and amity and ſucceſs, going hand in hand, mutually promote each other. And hence may be inferred, the futility of all thoſe invidious ſtatements and calculations, which are manufactured by party diſputants, for the purpoſe of ſhewing the ſuperior advantage of either kingdom in its intercourſe with the other. Theſe are not neceſſary to prove that the ſeparation of Ireland would ultimately ruin Great Britain, or that Ireland could not exiſt unconnected with Great Britain. All the garbling, miſnaming, and ſophiſtry, with which ſome of them have been introduced and diſplayed might eaſily have been ſpared.* Theſe Iſlands, it appears clearly enough without all this machinery, are formed by nature, by relation, by habit, by common hope and fear, to coaleſce and to become perfectly one, in political eſſence, form, and energy.

But it ſeems, the woollen, cotton, iron, and pottery manufactories, are thoſe in which Britiſh capital is chiefly employed, thoſe for which Great Britain is peculiarly fitted, and in which her people eminently excel; therefore Ireland in all the enriching arts of induſtry, is to degenerate after union, Britiſh capital will no longer contribute to ſupport her trade, and

* See ſhamefully ſophiſtical ſtatements detected in *obſervations on that part of the Speaker's ſpeech which relates to trade*, from page 16 to page 29.

Britiſh

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British settlers will be more detered than ever from making, or taking part in, establishments among us. That Great Britain is unaivalled in those manufactures is neither to be denied nor regretted; they contribute considerably to her riches, and to that might which she is now putting forth in a common defence. But even in these arts of industry we have a share; and so far as may be consistent with the application of our capital, and with our attention to those objects for which we are best fitted, and in which we have eminently prospered, we may justly encourage the hope of taking, in progression, a large share. That this country is capable of cultivating the woollen manufacture to considerable extent is undoubted, from the very instance, which the opposers of union adduce, of the prosperous state of that manufacture in Ireland at a very early period; and from the fact that, for a good while past, and at this moment a respectable trade has been and is carried on in the coarser branches of woollen goods. It may be true that in 1698, Ireland exported woollens to the amount of above 100,000l. and in 1798, to the amount only of 12,000l. and yet in the latter period more woollen goods may have been manufactured in Ireland than in the former period; for, the prodigious increase of her people, and of their ability to purchase cloathing, within the last century, has been such as to annihilate any inference which can be drawn from this difference of export. A similar observation is applicable to the statement that, about ten years ago Britain exported in woollen manufacture to the whole world 4,368,936l. in value, and in the last year, 6,836,603l. and that out of the former there went to Ireland 353,781l. and out of the latter

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latter 580,723l. So that in ten years the increaſe of export to Ireland was more than in an equal proportion to the increaſe of export to the reſt of the world*. It follows not hence, that a leſs quantity of woollen goods was manufactured in the year 1798 than in the year 1788, either in Ireland or in the reſt of the world; but it may follow, as the fact is, that in the progreſs of nations, Ireland, as well as the reſt of the world, but in greater proportion than in many parts of it, has, within the laſt ten years, increaſed in riches, and particularly in the numbers of thoſe deſcriptions of people, who have acquired the means of purchaſing the finer woollens which Britain ſupplies. In the coarſer woollens manufactured at home, we ſee the great body of our numerous population cloathed; and this is abundant proof, that whenever circumſtances ſhall make in our intereſt, to extend or vary this branch of induſtry, we have it fully in our power. But it is acknowledged that Ireland works up all the wool it has, and it is added that there is little reaſon to expect that the quantity will be enlarged, as the increaſe of the linen manufacture and of agriculture gives a greater profit in land than ſheep afford†. Is it not obvious therefore that Ireland is now in poſſeſſion of other means of proſperity, which it would be folly to ſacrifice to the premature and forced cultivation of certain branches of manufacture, which other parts of the ſame empire, (an empire every loyal man wiſhes to be one in intereſt) happen to cultivate with peculiar ſkill and to proſperous effect?

* Speaker's Speech, 72.

† Speaker's Speech, 72.

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In the cotton manufacture alſo, particularly in the coarſer branches of it, which do not require ſuperior ſkill, and which are beſt fitted for common conſumption, conſiderable advances have been made. The cotton manufacture eſtabliſhed and conducted with great ſpirit and on great capital by Meſſrs. Orr, (natives of Great Britain) affords a moſt reſpectable inſtance indeed of what may be done in this country, when the advaneed ſtate of Ireland ſhall give an equally cheap raw material as Britain procures, and ſhall afford from more eſſential occupations a ſuperfluity of capital.

In the manufacture of Iron for the more general and uſeful purpoſes of life, ſome ſpirited efforts have been crowned with ſucceſs. Not to mention others, Mr. Blair's extenſive works on the River Liffey near Dublin, furniſh a ſtriking example of what may be effected. Even in what is called the pottery manufacture, this country has proved itſelf not incapable; and that it poſſeſſes all the requiſite natural advantages in a ſuperior degree, has been fully ſhewn*. And till now it has not been denied, that capital, enterpriſe, and ſkill, are only wanting to raiſe Ireland by degrees, to the higheſt ſtate of proſperity in which cultivated arts can place a nation. No doubt, until long eſtabliſhment has given capital and ſkill, it may be neceſſary to encourage thoſe who have engaged in manufactures in which Great-Britain has long excelled,

* See Obſervations on that part of the Speaker's Speech, which relates to Trade.—See alſo Mr. Wedgwood's Evidence before the Houſe of Commons in England, in May, 1785.

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by fixing upon ſuch articles, duties which may preſerve to our own riſing fabricks the home conſumption, which home conſumption in a populous country is always ſufficient, in a reaſonable length of time, to eſtabliſh whatever employment the circumſtances of a people fit them to purſue. Such encouragement makes part of the plan of Union laid before his Majeſty. Whatever capital has been embarked, therefore, and whatever induſtry exerted, under exiſting laws, in any infant undertakings, have compleat effect ſecured, ſo far as may be conſiſtent with the collective good of the country. Under ſuch encouragement for a conſiderable time, (and in juſtice and good policy, it ought to be for a conſiderable time) the capabilities of ſucceſs in various purſuits will have taken root, whilſt thoſe in which we could but ſtruggle by the aid of a tax upon the conſumption of our people, will gradually yield to others in which capital may be more beneficially employed.

In one branch of manufacture we are confeſſedly unrivalled; and the increaſing demand from other countries, particularly from the great Continent of America multiplying with people, opens to induſtry and capital a field for enterpriſe of indefinite extent. In agriculture, notwithſtanding the increaſed produce of corn, at the expence and under the operation of bounties, this country is in an incalculable proportion inferiour to Great Britain;* and yet, its very ſuperiour ſoil, and

 numerous

* The contrary is indeed moſt ſtrangely inſinuated in the Speaker's Speech, page 106, where it is ſaid, that Ireland ſupplies largely that kingdom whoſe proſperity we are deſired to imitate, and who cannot maintain itſelf. It is ſurely an extraordinary inference that, becauſe a country

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numerous people, render it peculiarly capable of surpassing almost every other country, in the blessings to be derived from this prime source of national wealth and happiness. Look to Great Britain, and observe the quantity of capital employed in agriculture, the knowledge and spirit with which it is carried on, and the scene of industry, plenty, and comfort which it exhibits; while in Ireland, starved for want of capital, and chiefly conducted by an ignorant and torpid class of men, this fine country has hitherto but conjectured what it is capable of, and instead of presenting a race of flourishing occupiers of the land, the happiest and most useful members of the community, has too generally exposed a wretched aspect of poverty and failure. To put this country in the same state of agriculture as that at which Great Britain has arrived, would cost, according to Mr. Arthur Young's calculation, little less than one hundred millions sterling.

Now, whence can we expect an accession of capital, knowledge, industry, and enterprise, but from that supereminently flourishing kingdom, with which we are partially connected, and with which a perfect Union

a country occasionally imports corn, therefore it cannot maintain itself; for, if the same country happens to export in a greater proportion than it imports corn, it follows that it can more than maintain itself. Now, in the last edition of *Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations*, the enlightened and accurate author states, that Great Britain imports only a quantity of grain equal to about the five hundred and seventieth part of its home consumption, while it exports a quantity equal to about the thirtieth part of what it consumes; that is, it exports more than eighteen times as much as it imports. And yet it seems Great Britain cannot maintain itself! A conclusion, if it were true, unhappy for Ireland as well as for Great Britain.

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must give to all ranks of its people, confidence, and, by progreſſive conſequences, all the cordiality of co-patriotiſm?

Already conſiderable ſums have from time to time been lent to this country by Great Britain upon landed ſecurity; and it is notorious that a very conſiderable part of the trade of Ireland is carried on by aid of Britiſh capital. Whatever we can produce which, in any part of the immenſely extended correſpondence of Great Britain, can ſupply demand, is taken with avidity from Ireland, paid for in advance, and tranſported to the ultimate ports of deſtination, to be widely diffuſed under encouragement of the indulgent credit given by Britiſh wealth. Of the prodigious quantity of our ſtaple-manufacture, the linen, ſent yearly to Great Britain, above two thirds of the value are paid in advance by the merchants to whom it is conſigned; and ſome Britiſh capital has even been veſted in eſtabliſhments of that manufacture in Ireland. In fact, ſo connected and interwoven is the proſperity of this country with the proſperity of Great Britain, that almoſt exactly in the proportion that Britiſh commerce has extended, the demands for what Ireland can ſupply have increaſed, and the aſſiſtance of Britiſh capital to call forth that ſupply has been extended. So ſenſible of theſe truths are many of the northern linen manufacturers, and many leading commercial men in Cork and other convenient ſea ports, that no efforts of party violence or affected patriotiſm, have been able to prevent them from ſeeing and acknowledging, the acceſſion of benefit to be derived, from more intimate connexion with Great Britain.

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In that highly improved country, every active purſuit has been carried to ſuch extent, that enormous capital and animated enterpriſe ſeek new fields of action. Before the political convulſion of France, eſtabliſhments in that country were meditated, and ſome actually commenced by enterpriſing Engliſhmen. Even in this tremendous war, ſo has the courſe of events concurred with the ability and ſpirit of Britain, that her wealth and her enriching ſources have increaſed beyond all former experience or hope. Conſider then the circumſtances of Ireland. Our climate as good and our ſoil ſuperiour; the means of ſubſiſtence more eaſily raiſed than in almoſt any other country; a hardy and numerous people capable of furniſhing, at moderate rate, a prodigious quantity of uſeful labour, to all the arts of life; and a coaſt ſuperabundantly ſupplied with commodious havens for all the purpoſes of ready export and import. Think alſo of the ſituation of Great Britain. The national principal ſtock ſwelled to enormous amount, by the acceſſion of emigrated property, and by the profits of enlarged commerce; the ſum of wealth employed in war returning, on the eſtabliſhment of peace, into the boſom of an already incalculable capital; and her people active and experienced in every induſtrious and enriching occupation, acute to diſcern where and how advantages are to be purſued, and bent upon enterpriſe beyond all other nations. Thus circumſtanced theſe kingdoms become perfectly united, whereby all ſeparate intereſt is annihilated, diſtinct nationability is loſt in the entireneſs of the one conſolidated ſtate, the ſame ſupreme authority flowing from the whole preſides over and regulates the whole of both countries, and the ſame laws equally controul, encourage, and

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and ſecure, all the inhabitants of the united kingdom. What muſt naturally follow? No longer conſidered as a diſtinct or hoſtile country, but as a diſtrict of their own country, and bleſſed with ſuperiour advantages, enterpriſing Engliſhmen, not yet fixed in permanent eſtabliſhments, with a ſuperfluity of capital open to their uſe, muſt occaſionally gratify the ſpirit of adventure in a comparatively new and unoccupied field. Frequent ſucceſs cannot but operate to encourage new undertakings; and our various advantages, whatever they are, muſt conſequently become better underſtood and more ſucceſsfully purſued, whether in agriculture, in long eſtabliſhed manufacture, or in riſing or in new undertakings. It is ſtrange to ſay, that all this muſt fail becauſe we have not the cheap fuel with which Great Britain, raiſing it within herſelf, is furniſhed; and at the ſame moment to inform us, that if urged to it we can raiſe abundance in our own country. No doubt we can, and it will naturally make a uſeful part of our progreſs, to raiſe that valuable article in abundance, and to ſupply it at cheap price to all the arts in which it is employed. In the meantime, the difference of the price of fuel makes ſo ſmall a part of the coſt of moſt manufactures, compared with that of many other materials employed, but particularly with the coſt of labour, and is ſo fully compenſated by the preſent duties, which are to remain for a conſiderable though limited time, and afterwards to be continued or gradually diminiſhed as publick good may require, that no real diſcouragement takes place or can rationally operate.* The circuitous means by which ſo

* It is material to obſerve, that the flouriſhing ſtate of manufactures, depends not ſo much upon the rate of profit as upon the extenſion

ſo many of the raw materials are obtained by this country, enhanced in price by additional profit, freight, inſurance, and other expences, contributes more perhaps than any other circumſtance, to retard thoſe manufactures in which we have not eminently excelled; and the low ſtate of induſtry among our people, which prevents the extenſion of home conſumption adds to the diſcouragement. The ſmallneſs of capital employed in foreign trade and in agriculture is the cauſe of both theſe deficiencies. Let men poſſeſſed of property, or capable of obtaining the enlarged uſe of it, in the ſiſter kingdom, and ardent for active employment, ſee this happily circumſtanced country, no longer governed through the medium of an intereſted and doubtful oligarchy, no longer liable to be regulated by laws diſtinct from their own, no longer influenced by ſeparate or incompatible intereſts, and no longer, by the very nature of a diſtinct ſtate, and in the daily proceedings of its ſeparate legiſlature, cheriſhing and bringing into action invidious and alienating principles, but in every particular of intereſt government and regulation the ſame; then, apprehenſion and diſcouragement removed, all our natural advan-

tenſion of ſale, which extenſion of ſale is beſt promoted by ſkill and capital. A manufacture making only ten per cent. on the capital employed may be far more flouriſhing than one making fifteen per cent. on account of the far greater quantity of buſineſs done by the former than the latter. In ſeveral manufactures in Ireland, at this moment, the rate of profit is greater than in thoſe of the ſame kind in Great Britain; but the greater capital employed, and the greater extent of ſale, make thoſe in Great Britain generally more flouriſhing and productive. Under the encouragement of duties, fixed for a limited but conſiderable time, and afterwards to be gradually diminiſhed, Ireland will have full opportunity, to improve her ſkill, increaſe her capital, and extend her ſale, ſo as with a leſs rate of profit, to flouriſh more eminently in all the arts, for the enlarged cultivation of which nature may have endowed her.

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tages are left at liberty to operate, with full force of motive, upon every active energy to be found in any part of the united whole. We may therefore confidently expect that the ſkill in every branch of agriculture, now arrived at ſuch a height in Great Britain, and ſtill cultivated with a degree of ardour pregnant with future bleſſings, will, with the aſſiſtance of overflowing capital, reach the rich and extenſive tracts in Ireland, which may be obtained upon terms far inferior to thoſe on which the naturally inferior lands of Britain are farmed; and that the commodious ports of our finely indented coaſt, will from time to time invite many to make eſtabliſhments or take part in eſtabliſhments, for the purpoſe of ſupplying foreign nations with our productions, and of importing the various articles uſeful at home or fit to be eaſily diſtributed to other countries.

Should ſuch inſtances be at firſt but few, ſhould they multiply but by ſlow degrees, yet ſtill the effects would be happy. Men of condition and property in this country would occaſionally imitate the example, and in their own exertions, or in directing the attention of their ſons to uſeful employment, would promote individual and collective intereſt. Hence, motives to induſtry would be multiplied; hence, ſkill and enterpriſe would follow; hence, our people would be more generally employed and conſequently ameliorated; and hence, in the enjoyment of the fruits of induſtry, a taſte for the comforts of civilized life would be created, and every active purſuit invigorated.

To a foreign ſtate the ſuperflux of capital is not eaſily truſted; in a foreign ſtate the apprehenſive ſtranger is

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not confident of protection: therefore the advantages of a foreign ſtate are neither ſought nor cultivated. But in the ſame ſtate, where ſecurity of property and protection of the individual are maintained and guarded by the ſame univerſally pervading authority, the ſubject is confident in every part of the common territory, and conſequently the numbers are greatly increaſed of thoſe who, ſtimulated by the deſire of acquiſition, ſearch for the means of improving their fortune, and in the ſearch, multiply the probabilities of diſcovering the natural, and improving the cultivated ſources, of individual gain and national proſperity. Ireland has been in material reſpects as a foreign ſtate. The ſupreme authority which regulates all its important concerns is different: the debates in the legiſlature are conſtantly grounded on an oppoſition of intereſts; and jealouſy and rivalry maintain and extend an unfortunate religious and national antipathy. But the two kingdoms, on the plan of Union, are no longer to be foreign in any reſpect; the oppoſition of intereſts can only be that of the united ſtate and of foreign or hoſtile nations; jealouſy and rivalry being removed, and the one ~~ſuperiour~~ legiſlature directing its attention to the healing of differences, Union of ſentiment and affection will conſequently by degrees follow Union of political conſtitution. Hence with confidence we infer, that eaſy and free communication among all the ſubjects of the common ſtate, and more enlarged and various interchange of benefits, will greatly increaſe the proſperity and happineſs of the whole.

The plan of the œconomiſts of France for eſtabliſhing a free, unburthened and uncontrouled intercourſe of nations in the interchange of their peculiar benefits, and

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and mutual ſupply of their peculiar wants, will then (ſo far as regards theſe iſlands) be no longer viſionary.

The very circumſtance of being divided by a narrow ſea, inſtead of furniſhing a reaſon for ſuppoſing that Providence intended they ſhould ever remain ſeparate ſtates, points out the ſuperiour utility of their political Union. It enlarges the extent of common coaſts; it tends to increaſe their common commerce, and to augment their common wealth; it contributes to multiply that bold and hardy race of men, upon whoſe ſkill, activity, and gallantry, depend the ſafety, dignity, and proſperity, of this maritime empire, formed to be the great defence of human rights; it aſſiſts to ſpread wider our ſhipping through the world, to extend our influence, and to add to our reſources; and, in varying the peculiarities of human character, which various ſituation occaſions, brings more varied occupation and purſuit to operate, to the great common and valuable purpoſe, the publick good.

Neither need Great Britain be at all apprehenſive of any loſs to her by the gain of united Ireland. The world is ſufficiently wide for both. Beſides, it has long been diſcovered, that induſtrious nations thrive not by the poverty and loſs of their neighbours, but by their wealth and proſperity; for ſo has nature diverſified this earth and its inhabitants, that the poſſeſſions as well as wants of different countries contribute to common benefit. Were Great Britain and Ireland, acting upon the principle of diſtinct and therefore frequently inconſiſtent intereſt, to counteract each other by hoſtile commercial laws, they might eaſily drive to foreign coun-

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tries, the advantages which each is peculiarly fitted to purſue; whereas, by compleat conſolidation, by acting under the ſame regulations, more various arts may be preſerved and cultivated in the common territory, more various claſſes of uſeful ſubjects may be employed, and the more effectually and happily may the purſuits and productions of each country, and of every diſtrict of each country, be extended to their full capability.

In ſuch a ſcene of things, it is not improbable indeed, that the comparative conſequence and power of the ariſtocracy of Ireland might become ſomewhat abated. They would no longer rule this country in the form of a ſmall faction, commanding the greater and diſtributing the leſſer favours of the ſtate; but, mingled with the other great intereſts of the empire, would learn to underſtand and to reſpect the nature of a uſeful gradation of ranks: and, inſtead of forming an anomalous and diſtracting *imperium in imperio*, would fill their proper and important place in the ſcale of government. Hitherto a deſtructive chaſm in ſociety has long ſubſiſted between the higher and lower orders of the community; in conſequence of which ſympathy and intercourſe having been excluded, the prejudices and bad ſentiments, which the natural ſituation of each foſters in minds not corrected by neceſſity or diſcipline, have had full ſcope to operate, and have not only prevented mutual cordiality and uſefulneſs, but have promoted fraud and lawleſsneſs on the one ſide, and inſolence and oppreſſion on the other. But, in a ſtate of ſociety growing daily more ſimilar to that of Great Britain, in which every order takes its juſt ſituation in the great ſyſtem of ſubordination, and in which rank approaches and blends

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into rank, mutually ſupporting and ſupported, ſelf intereſt, neceſſity, opinion, every powerful principle, bind together the community, form a chain of good offices, and at once ſecure the tranquillity and improve the character of the nation. We ſhould then hear not long of an overbearing ariſtocracy or gentry, too many of whom (certainly not all, for we have happy exceptions) have taken little intereſt in the condition or fate of their inferiours and dependents; but, in the progreſſive improvement of ſociety, we ſhould ſee an ariſtocracy, the chief in example as the chief in rank, as eminently the ſtewards as the favourites of Providence, who, conſidering their own intereſts as interwoven with the intereſts of the loweſt in the community, would regard with ſcrupulous obſervance the fair claims between man and man, would ſubdue inveterate prejudice by manly intercourſe, and, in a career of enlightened beneficence, enlarge the general happineſs;—characters, allied to thoſe whom after ages venerate,

Quique ſui memores alios fecere merendo.

The complete conſolidation of theſe kingdoms, however, chiefly impreſſes the mind of every friend to Great Britain and Ireland, in its powerful tendency to give to the Britiſh Empire ſtrength and ſtability; in which is neceſſarily involved the ſecurity of our liberties, our laws, and our religion.

In any other caſe than the preſent, in which prejudice, pride, and party ſpirit take ſuch a lead, one ſhould ſuppoſe, that the mere ſtatement of the ſituation of theſe kingdoms, would ſatisfy every man who has

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has at all considered human affairs, that the nature of our connexion tends to disunion and weakness, and that in compleat Union only, can rational hope be found of permanent stability.

It is not pretended that the best concerted Union, though it might immediately add force to the exertions of the Empire, and impress enemies and traitors with awe, would operate as by magical power, and instantly compose the violence, eradicate the secretly working mischief, and change the character of this country. No—We are well aware that we must now brave the fury of the storm: and, under the auspicious lead of Great Britain, we hope and look for, a favourable issue to the contest, in which we are engaged with jacobin France and the jacobins of Ireland. But the fiery trial through which we are passing, may well make us dread, and prepare against, the consequences of such a future day.

The return of peace will remove the imminent danger which unites the loyal and makes them vigilant. It will also remove the extraordinary restraints which necessity has imposed, but which, however necessary in the present conflict for existence, make part of the evils of a war imposed upon us, and would be incompatible with established peace, from which we hope for the advancement of national prosperity and power, in all the freedom of exertion congenial to our happy constitution. But we cannot expect that, notwithstanding peace, restless and ambitious France would cease to forward her schemes against the British power; neither are we to expect that, in a period of peace, the disaffected at

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home would not buſily employ themſelves, in prepar-ing, under ſpecious pretexts, thoſe various political meaſures, which operate by ſure though perhaps mo-derate gradations, to the ſubverſion of eſtabliſhed go-vernment.

In the meantime, the prejudices and jealouſies that ſubſiſt between theſe kingdoms, the prodigious ſpread of democratick principles in this country, the diſtinct-neſs of the two ſupreme authorities, the growth of the national ſpirit of independence, and the increaſe of po-pular influence, preſent to the intriguing ſpirit of France, moſt prolifick ſources of diſorder! and, ſhould new conflicts with the ſame depraved and deſtroying power hereafter become neceſſary, it appears morally certain that, in ſome of them, diſtraction of counſel and diſunion of operation, would ſupply what might be wanting to realize the ſchemes of the enemy.

Now, on reviewing the evils produced by the na-ture of our connexion, which in former times diſtract-ed and afflicted this country, and on conſidering the dangers which, under all the circumſtances of our ſituation, are connected with and muſt neceſſarily flow from ſeparate and independent legiſlatures, what proſ-pect of permanent ſtability remains but in a legiſlative Union, which ſhall conſolidate our intereſts, authori-ties and powers? If the wealth, power, and loyalty of the Empire be divided, a facility is preſented of being wrought upon by vicious influence, or awed by the menaces of force: but a united legiſlature would give to the incorporated kingdoms a grand and reſiſtleſs phalanx, of the rank, property, abilities, and fidelity of

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of both countries; no part of which could any longer be employed in ſetting in oppoſition the intereſts and prejudices of their reſpective diſtinct ſtates; but, undivided in national ſentiment and national objects, muſt, in its eſſential nature, ſupply powerful reſiſtance to whatever dangerous influence might prevail in any part of either country. In the preſent convulſed ſtate of the political world, diſtraction of views or of action muſt prove more fatal to a ſtate in which they take place, than in any former time; but, in a united legiſlature, we ſhould derive ſecurity, from Union of mind and Union of operation, in the purſuit of every national object, whether of peace or of war. In peace, the dangerous movements of ſurrounding nations would be attended to with the united vigilance of all the great and loyal intereſts of the Empire, and counteracted, in promptitude of preparation, by the one directing ſpirit and authority of the whole ſtate: And if actual war become neceſſary, we ſhould dread no diſunion of deciſion in the two diſtinct, powerful, and independent authorities, but, in the immediate exerciſe of one legiſlative will, regulating the ſources, and ultimately directing the power of the Empire, we ſhould find the ſureſt confidence of defeating the deſigns of our enemies.

The United States of America were ſo ſenſible of the danger likely to flow from diſtraction of counſel in diſtinct and co-equal legiſlatures, in matters of national concern, that, when in the year 1787, they changed their confederation into more intimate Union, powers were given to the Congreſs, that is, to an imperial and common legiſlature, to the following effect,—"To

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"lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States—to borrow money on the credit of the United States—to raise and support armies—to provide and maintain a navy—to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces—to provide for calling forth the militia, to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions—to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia—to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." Here are the most important of legislative powers, which the United States have judged it necessary to commit to a common legislature, but which are respectively and distinctly vested in, and respectively and distinctly exercised by, the separate legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland: and yet, the United States are divided by an ocean of three thousand miles extent, from all the states that can materially affect them; and, the number, complication, and importance, of their political relations, as well as the magnitude of their exertions, are of no consideration, compared with those of the British Empire. From so early an opinion of the necessity of closer Union, and from the instances we lately witnessed of particular states, in a time of danger, entering into resolutions repugnant to the determinations of Congress, the strong probability follows that, when the United States become more powerful, when the effects of national conduct become more numerous and important, and when, in the progress of society among them, men of leisure and active spirit, form parties, and create political discord, the good sense of that people will lead them to

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incorporate in ſtill cloſer Union, in order the more effectually to ſecure the commonwealth, againſt the deſtructive conſequences of internal convulſion and foreign violence. But, in our greater and more important ſituation, all the conſiderations that have induced or can induce the United States, to conſolidate their powers, weigh with ten-fold force, and ſeem to point to Union, as the great fortreſs, which nature and reaſon have provided, for the permanent ſecurity of theſe iſlands.

In a united legiſlature alſo, where local prejudices or influence could not prevail, whatever grievances might occaſionally claim conſideration, would meet with moſt equitable diſcuſſion and moſt ſecure redreſs; while complaints or claims, generated by party ſpirit or party deſigns, whether political or religious, would meet with that determined reſiſtance, which muſt naturally inſpire the collective repreſentation of nearly all the loyalty to the Conſtitution, and all the attachment to the Proteſtant cauſe, to be found in the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

In this point of view, the ſituation and claims of the Roman catholicks are neceſſarily preſented to the mind.

The whole train of events in the hiſtory of Ireland, joined to our own experience, perfectly aſſure us, that the great body of that ſect cannot be entruſted with political power, in our preſent diſtinct ſtate, conſiſtently with the ſecurity of our religion, and by conſequence, of our civil eſtabliſhment. Moſt of the relaxations and

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conceſſions that have been made in their favour, ſeem to have been dictated by a benign ſpirit and an enlightened policy; but the elective franchiſe, which neceſſarily confers ſo large a portion of political power, cannot but be conſidered as a moſt dangerous grant, to an immenſe body, the greater part of which, unhappily, are inimical to our religion and our connexion with Great Britain. Their growing importance, their active zeal, and their ſpirit of combination, directed in a ſteady and ſyſtematick courſe of action, to the objects they have conſtantly held in view, muſt, by the aid of this political engine, unleſs fruſtrated by an acceſſion of reſiſtance, procure to them, in proceſs of time, ſuch pervading influence through the nation, as neceſſarily to enſure powerful influence in the legiſlature, and the final accompliſhment of their purpoſes. But whether, under all circumſtances, the ſtep at the time it was made, was juſtifiable or not, yet, in having made it, we may be ſaid to have paſſed the Rubicon; and we cannot recede, without expoſing the country to ſuch critical danger, and devoting it to ſuch actual calamity, as revolt every liberal mind.

In whatever light therefore, this important body of people are conſidered, the government of the country muſt be embaraſſed, and the publick ſafety endangered. But in a united legiſlature, all embarraſſment and danger are done away, in a matter of ſuch eſſential influence on our peace and ſafety. We ſhould then become incorporated with a people more powerful and numerous than ourſelves, almoſt entirely proteſtant, attached to their religion, and anxious for its preſervation; the legiſlature emanating from that country muſt

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always remain proteſtant, and ſubject to proteſtant influence; no conſequences therefore could follow dangerous to the eſtabliſhed religion of Ireland, whether the comparative influence of Roman catholicks in this country remains as it is, or ſhould in progreſs of time extend its power.

It is equally abſurd as dangerous to act upon the inconſiſtent principle, of maintaining our conſtitution, excluſively of the ſecurity of our eſtabliſhed religion. What do we mean by our conſtitution? We mean that ſyſtem of regulations, rights, and privileges, which, weak and imperfect at infancy, has grown with the growth, ſtrengthened with the ſtrength, and become grand and compleat with the improvement, of Great Britain. With the reformation, the human mind in Britain greatly advanced; and the beauty, order, and fixed principles, of civil ſociety, became daily more intimately blended with the proteſtant ſyſtem of religion. The genius, the manners, the cuſtoms, and the laws of this proteſtant Empire, have flowed, and ſtill flow, from this mingled ſource; and to ſeparate or weaken the auſpicious Union of religion and law, would be to ſubvert our conſtitution, ſhake our ſtability, and endanger our exiſtence. But, whatever hope we may have entertained, whatever efforts of liberality we may have made, it is now out of controverſy, that the ultimate deſign of the great majority of Roman catholicks in this country, inſtigated by too many of their inferiour clergy, has been, by the aid of civil privilege, and under foreign auſpices, to overturn our religious eſtabliſhment, and to acquire, at the expence of whatever convulſion, the triumphant aſcendent to their

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their own. At the ſame time, we are fully convinced, that the extenſion of civil privilege tends to enlarge the publick mind, and to give motives to all thoſe uſeful energies, which make the power and proſperity of a nation.

The Roman catholick accordingly, enjoys all the religious toleration that under a proteſtant conſtitution can be conceived; he is furniſhed in his perfectly equal dominion over his property, with every motive to uſeful exertion that can inſpire the proteſtant. And nothing remains withheld but the capacity of gratifying an ambition, perhaps not a wiſe one, of poſſeſſing place, and rule, and authority in the ſtate,

In order therefore, to preſerve toleration of religion with eſtabliſhment of religion, civil privilege with civil ſecurity, we ſeek to ſtrengthen and to render inviolable, the comparatively weak ſtate of the proteſtant cauſe in this country, by an incorporation of proteſtant power and authority, with that great country, the nature and character of whoſe people through all their ranks is proteſtant, and whoſe laws and liberties are ſo cemented with their religion, that they muſt ceaſe to be a nation, before their religious eſtabliſhment be overthrown.

Then would all hope be cut up by the roots, of ſapping the foundations of our religious eſtabliſhment, and of perverting our conſtitution, in order to give to this country a Roman catholick eſtabliſhment; and in the deſtruction of that hope, the Roman catholick would attend to, cheriſh, and improve, the ſubſtantial bleſſings he actually poſſeſſes; in conſequence of which, both publick and private enemies of our conſtitutional happineſs

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happineſs muſt loſe motive and encouragement; and we ſhould preſent to the world, a powerful, free, and happy, proteſtant kingdom, or empire, in which, about one ſixth of the people of a different and even repugnant religon, would be ſeen to enjoy ſuch bleſſings under a mild and benignant ſway, that abſurdity and bigotry would moſt probably, from day to day, yield to the light of reaſon, and take part with eſtabliſhment, conſtitution, and loyalty.

And in truth, even at the preſent moment, we rejoice in knowing that ſociety is qualified and bleſſed with many, very many liberal, enlightened, and benignant Roman catholicks: and we earneſtly hope that their numbers may increaſe, as well as their influence over a multitude, whoſe exceſſes they lament, and whom they pity as the infatuated inſtruments of vicious conſpirators. Of ſuch Roman catholicks we entertain no dread; we conſider them not only as our fellow ſubjects, but as our friends and fellow chriſtians. We are aware that they regard the Britiſh conſtitution as a ſyſtem which has grown out of experience, which has been improved by wiſdom operating upon experience, and which has proved in practice, at leaſt among the people who have fully enjoyed it, the beſt calculated to preſerve to the eccentrick nature of man, ſocial order, liberty, and happineſs. We know that fellow chriſtians of this deſcription, recogniſing religion as a Divine gift to man, to make him good and happy, could be very little inclined indeed, to aid the overthrow of a religious eſtabliſhment, which, though not exactly agreeable to their opinions, yet obviouſly contributes, in a conſiderable degree, to preſerve among all

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all ranks, the ſacred obligations of morality; and the deſtruction of which would be ultimately followed, (if we can judge from what has actually taken place in other countries) by the moſt dreadful monſter that ever devoured a people's bleſſings,—cold, unfeeling, malignant irreligion.

If then, in the event of a Union, it ſhould be deemed expedient (as ſeems now probable, indeed almoſt morally certain) to take into conſideration, at a fit ſeaſon, in the united legiſlature, the utility of doing away all that remains of invidious diſtinction, between the Proteſtant and the Roman Catholick of Ireland, we may expect the moſt benign effects. The privilege of ſitting in the legiſlature of theſe realms, would, by the very nature of man, enſure to us, in the leading families of the Roman Catholick body, new and invigorated motives, to the cultivation of every valuable quality that makes the loyal and uſeful ſubject: the conſtant intercourſe of reſpectable Roman Catholicks with their co-repreſentatives from Ireland, and with the members at large of the firſt aſſembly that ever graced the world, muſt gradually deſtroy every unworthy prejudice; and conſequently, they would return to their conſtituents with ſuch diſpoſitions and views, as could not fail to diffuſe through the whole body, the happieſt influence. All ſubject and all occaſion for jealouſy and offence being for ever removed, we might confidently hope, that under the impartial conduct of the common legiſlature, the inhabitants of this country would, ere long, ceaſe to embarraſs and weaken, by diſcord and diſunion, the exertions of the empire, but that, in a courſe of cordiality and proſperity, they would grow in attachment to the common

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common cauſe, and powerfully contribute to the common ſecurity.

In legiſlative Union alſo, it is material to add, the abounding demagogues of this country, loſe every hope of creating an influence which ſhould overawe the legiſlature. Their invidious pretexts reſpecting a depreſſed religion of the great majority of the ſtate, a ſeparate intereſt, and diſtinct national independence, could no longer find ſubject for operation: they would not then employ the parties in a diſtinct parliament as engines to promote their covered ſchemes; but if they ſhould continue their malignant efforts to diſtract ſociety, they muſt ſtand forth in their proper character, and in their native deformity, in defiance of the united legiſlature, and of the united and prompt force of the whole and every part, of conſolidated Britain and Ireland. Political adventure, at one time acting under the form of a bravoe for the ruling powers, and at another under that of the high minded patriots, but, in every ſhape, the bane of tranquillity and uſefulneſs, then deprived of motive, muſt relinquiſh its unprincipled and factious purſuit; and we ſhould ſee in the paths of buſineſs, literature, and ſcience, in the purſuit of objects uſeful to their country and to themſelves, thoſe vain, reſtleſs, or ardent characters, who, without originally vicious deſigns, have been too long carrying into effect, the views of a jacobin conſpiracy.

If improvements in our conſtitution, or regulations in relief or encouragement of the ſubject, ſhould be found neceſſary, the united legiſlature, compoſed of the loyalty, zeal, wiſdom, and firmneſs, of both countries, unaffected

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unaffected by any dangerous influence, would naturally, and in the courſe of occurring circumſtances and events, as the Britiſh legiſlature has long done, adopt ſuch wholeſome meaſures, as might beſt ſerve the well weighed intereſt and happineſs of the united kingdoms.

And in fine, in the one legiſlature of the undivided and inſeparable ſtate, every motive of patriotiſm and honourable pride, would have full, ſafe, and uſeful ſcope of action; and, in all thoſe enlightened exertions, of which the admired example of Britain gives a ſure promiſe, to multiply and expand the reſources, and to enlarge the proſperity and power of the empire, the hearts of the loyal in both countries, would be animated and ſupported, under every effort for private or publick benefit, by the confident hope of permanent ſecurity.

The circumſtances which led to the Union of Scotland, and the effects which have flowed from it, fully corroborate every reaſon offered for a Union of Ireland. Scotland had ſubſiſted long as a ſeparate and independent ſtate, engaged in all the rivalry and conflict with England incident to their contiguous ſituation. The two nations had harraſſed and diſtracted each other for ages, to the detriment of both, but particularly of Scotland, which, except in the gallantry of her turbulent nobility, and the bravery of her poor and ſcattered people, exhibited no marks of national proſperity. The calamities reſulting from their ſituation, had been often lamented by the wiſer men of rank and authority in both kingdoms, and plans had been frequently concerted by which they might become united. Theſe all failed; but at length, the accidental Union of the two

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crowns in the ſame perſon, ſeemed to promiſe a Union of laws, privileges, and intereſts, which ſhould deſtroy all former animoſity, and eſtabliſh the tranquillity and domeſtick happineſs of the whole iſland for ever. To effect ſo excellent a purpoſe, an incorporated Union was earneſtly ſought, and in the parliament of England even propoſed, in the reign of James the firſt; but national prejudices fruſtrated the conciliating and wholeſome plan. The two kingdoms therefore, until then perfectly ſeparate and independent, were to travel on together, connected ſimply by the identity of perſon in whom the crowns were veſted. That compleat independence ſhould be preſerved in a connexion of this nature, was impoſſible; and accordingly Mr. Hume ſays, it might eaſily have been foreſeen, that the independence of Scotland would be loſt, and that, if both ſtates perſevered in maintaining ſeparate laws and parliaments, the weaker muſt ſenſibly ſuffer ſubjection. The conſequences were exactly ſuch as might have been foreſeen. The intereſts of the two countries being diſtinct, and antient prejudice continuing to operate, the influence of the ſuperiour country was employed in depreſſing a dangerous rival rather than in elevating an inſeparable friend; and except on occaſions when England was involved in difficulties and diſaſters, we find that the influence of the ſuperiour country prevailed. In a ſtate of political Union ſo ſlight and defective, England was naturally led to watch with a jealous eye, and to guard againſt an increaſe of power in Scotland, which might be employed in ſchemes, dangerous to the conſtitution of the more proſperous kingdom. The part which the Scotch had acted during the civil war in England, furniſhed an inſtructive proof, of the effects to be dreaded from

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from the interference of Scotland in times of publick commotion; and accordingly, it is to be remarked, that after the reſtoration, means were uſed to reſtrain the trade, to prevent the reſources, and to depreſs the power of Scotland. This ſyſtem continued during the reign of Charles the ſecond and of James the ſecond. In the reign of William, however, advances were made in the Scotch parliament, by political leaders ſupported by powerful parties, which not only aimed at and aſſerted the compleat independence of Scotland, but tended to endanger and even totally deſtroy the connexion with England. For, when the convention of eſtates in Scotland conferred the crown of that kingdom upon William, he received it attended with conditions, which tended to ſtrengthen their authority, and to weaken conſiderably that of the crown. Theſe were taken full advantage of, as well as the peculiar diſpoſition and ſituation of the king, who, having accompliſhed a revolution in the cauſe of liberty, and being ſurrounded with danger from the partiſans of the abdicated monarch, was not prepared to reſiſt the plauſible but dangerous claims of national enthuſiaſm and party ſpirit. Some of theſe demands were at firſt ſo palpably dangerous (among others, that of the right in parliament to appoint the judges) that they were evaded for a time. But new difficulties aroſe, dangers accumulated, and it was found that a conſiderable degree of conceſſion was neceſſary to enſure the peace and ſtability of government in Scotland. Among other conceſſions, the king's ſupremacy in matters of religion was ſurrendered, whereby the Preſbyterians became eſtabliſhed in the fullneſs of their claims; and the inſtitution of *the lords of articles* was completely aboliſhed. Theſe conceſſions compoſed

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the nation for a short time, but soon opened new sources of disorder. The Presbyterians inflamed by the recollection of their sufferings and by the furious zeal of their intolerant teachers, now became in their turn persecutors of all who adhered to Episcopacy. These latter, though by no means so numerous, yet being composed of considerably more of the nobility and higher gentry, and of the whole of the old tory party, were nearly as powerful; but the former having accomplished the revolution in Scotland and conferred the crown on William, gained an ascendency which they were little fitted to use with moderation; and consequently the nation became torn by all the violence of party. The preparations of France in favour of James, and the machinations of his numerous partisans, rendered the authority of William precarious; and finding it impossible to gain both parties, he was forced to yield too far to the prejudices of the ruling party, who, peevish, headstrong, self-sufficient, and always ready to take advantage of the king's situation, urged him occasionally to sanction measures which inflamed the publick disorders. Meantime, the abolition of the *lords of articles* had given full scope to the influence and zeal of active leaders in the parliament, who, step by step, so far inflamed the nation, and excited the parliament in pursuit of popular measures favourable to distinctness and independence, that the power of the crown became weakened to inefficiency, and a spirit was created and fostered, which hastened to dissolve the connexion between the two kingdoms. The institution of *the lords of articles*, as it was modified in the reign of James the first of England, as it was revived after the restoration (having been abolished in the troublesome reign of Charles the first) and as it

continued

continued till the reign of William, consisted of eight bishops chosen by the temporal lords, eight temporal lords chosen by the bishops, sixteen knights and burgesses chosen by the elected bishops and temporal lords, and eight officers of state appointed by the crown. Without the previous consent of this body, the formation of which rested ultimately in the power of the crown, no motion could be made in parliament. It is evident therefore, that so long as this institution remained in force, the dependence of the legislature was perfectly secured; and Scotland could be considered as only a dependent province, with a subordinate legislature acting under the controul of the cabinet of England; in like manner as Ireland and the parliament of Ireland were to be considered, while the law of Poyning's continued to operate. But the same spirit which seized the opportunity of abolishing the *lords of articles*, soon abused the liberty that had been acquired; and the king was actually forced to concur in acts of the Scotch parliament, which alarmed the parliament of England, and which brought on inquiries and contests nearly fatal to both kingdoms. The repugnant interests and mutually invidious sentiments of the two nations and parliaments, continued to embarrass and endanger the reign of William during his whole life; and that sagacious prince, foreseeing the destruction which in time must have necessarily followed from the unnatural and precarious situation of the two kingdoms, earnestly recommended, in one of the last acts of his life, an incorporating Union, as essential to the safety and happiness of both.

In the succeeding reign, the violence of parliamentary leaders, the contentions of discordant parties in the nation,

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nation, and the enthuſiaſm in favour of diſtinct national authority and independence, ſoon precipitated the diſagreements between the two kingdoms to a compleat criſis. Any concurrence in, or ſanction of, the regulation of the ſucceſſion to the crown, which had been eſtabliſhed by the parliament of England, was obſtinately refuſed, until ſuch meaſures ſhould be carried, as tended not only to the ſeparation of the kingdoms, but to the ſubverſion of all regular or ſtable government. It was demanded that an act or acts ſhould be paſſed to the following effect;—that it ſhould be high treaſon to adminiſter the coronation oath, but by the appointment of the eſtates, or to own any perſon as king or queen until they ſhould accept ſuch terms as ſhould be ſettled in parliament: that elections ſhould be made every Michaelmas for a new parliament every year, to ſit the firſt of November next following, and adjourn themſelves from time to time until next Michaelmas: that the king ſhould give the royal aſſent to all laws offered by the eſtates: that a committee choſen by parliament out of their own members, ſhould under the king have the adminiſtration of the government, be his council, and accountable to the parliament, with power on extraordinary occaſions to call the parliament together; that the king without conſent of parliament ſhould not have the power of making peace and war, or that of concluding any treaty with any other ſtate or potentate: that all places and offices both civil and military formerly conferred by the crown, ſhould ever after be given by parliament: that no regiment or company of horſe, foot, or dragoons ſhould be kept on foot in peace or war, but by conſent of parliament: that no pardon for any tranſgreſſion ſhould

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be valid without consent of parliament: and that if any king should break in upon these conditions of government, he should by the estates be declared to have forfeited the crown. In the midst of this political ferment in Scotland, England was engaged in war with France; the jacobite party concerted with the foreign enemy the means of overthrowing the government, and those who, under the name of patriots, urged popular measures to the verge of anarchy, exercised unbounded sway. The royal authority was coerced by difficulties and dangers; and the famous act of security, was actually passed, by which the crowns became legally disjoined; and unless a renewal of Union could be effected upon satisfactory terms, both nations must inevitably have been plunged into all the horrors of a civil war. Upon the eve, as then appeared, of that awful crisis, both of them began to make hostile preparations, without reserve, and under the sanction of laws. By virtue of a clause in the act of security, fencible men were raised in the several counties of Scotland, furnished with arms, and trained to war. From a spirit of retaliation as well as from necessary policy, the parliament of England addressed the queen to give orders for the fortifying the towns bordering on Scotland, for arming the militia, and augmenting the regular troops stationed in the frontier counties; acts were passed tending to destroy the commerce of Scotland; and the commissioners of the admiralty were instructed to issue orders to the navy, for making prizes of all Scotch ships trading to France or to any of the ports of his majesty's enemies; and an additional number of cruizers were put into commission for the more effectual execution of these orders. Thus, the two kingdoms,

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kingdoms, inflamed by prejudice and reſentment, both antient and recent, ſtood awaiting a moſt awful iſſue; doubtful, whether they were to become eternal and mutually ruinous foes, or friends united for ever in common intereſt, proſperity, and patriotiſm, and in all the eventful energies, which hiſtory now records to their united honour. The degree of wiſdom and virtue which, ſpite of violence, operated in both nations, effected not long after the only meaſure that could heal all ills. What the conſequences have been, admit of no controverſy. Notwithſtanding two attempts on the part of France, aiding the abdicated family, in the years 1715 and 1745, to overturn our conſtitution as eſtabliſhed at the revolution, all that could be effected on either occaſion was, to raiſe a few thouſands into rebellion, while the immenſe majority of Scotland remained loyal and firm. The attempts proved futile, and ſerved only to confirm the attachment of Scotland. A country naturally poor and comparatively incapable, has grown progreſſively rich, and in all the arts that adorn and cheriſh human life, advances ſtep by ſtep with England. Agriculture has been cultivated with ſuch ſpirit and ability, that the native barrenneſs of the land yields daily to the introduction of plenty; manufactures of every ſort have ſpread from the Leven to the Tweed; and all Scotland, in the face of the country, and in the exertions of the inhabitants, as well as in the teſtimony of her hiſtorians, owns the bleſſings of a Union, which reſcued her from ſeparation, internal war, and laſting miſery, and joined her in a participation of all that had made England, and has ſince made Great Britain, powerful, free, and happy.

No,

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Now, here we have seen a kingdom, connected with England by the same slender link which connects Ireland with Great Britain. We have seen that connexion secure and unaffected, while Scotland remained dependent upon England: and we have seen that when that dependence was done away, every difficulty, suggested to parties and their leaders, a fit occasion to assert new claims, more congenial, in their apprehension, to the nature of a distinct and independent kingdom, until finally, a train of events, perplexing to the government, and dangerous to publick security, urged both kingdoms to the verge of mutual destruction. Can facts and events be imagined, substantially more applicable to the situation of Ireland and Great Britain? We have not arrived indeed at that state, in which hostility, separation, and connexion with other powers, are announced or sanctioned by respective laws; but these destructive purposes have been long pursued by a considerable party in the nation, naturally grow out of distinctness and independence, and for full accomplishment await only new difficulties and new trains of untoward events, which may serve as occasions, to give to the distinct and independent state, the designs hitherto fostered by a considerable portion of its people.

Are we then to rest secure, after all the symptoms and warnings we have observed, not only in the community at large, but in the legislature, until the evil grown too great and approached too near, becomes inevitable? No—we dare not rest secure. All that happened, far worse than happened in a kingdom similarly situated, may, must take place in Ireland, where

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every internal tendency is more malignant, and at a period, when externally, we are threatened with every danger that portends ruin to all regulated ſociety.

A great deal has been ſaid, and very unfoundedly, reſpecting the ſuperiour proſperity of Ireland to that of Scotland, notwithſtanding the ſuppoſed advantages of the Union; as if, in truth, ſuch ſuperiority, taking it as fact, could materially affect the queſtion.

That Ireland is of greater extent in territory, that it poſſeſſes more than double the quantity of productive ſoil, that the natural fertility of its land is in general incomparably ſuperiour, that its climate is more mild and genial, that its ſituation for commerce with the reſt of the world is far more commodious, that all its capabilities are incalculably greater, cannot be denied by any man acquainted with both countries; and indeed, is univerſally acknowledged by all who pretend to ſpeak or write upon the ſubject: but whether, in proportion to their reſpective natural advantages, Ireland be ſuperiour in proſperity to Scotland, makes a very different queſtion.

Ireland, from the circumſtances mentioned, is capable of maintaining at leaſt three times the number of inhabitants; of carrying on every profitable art and occupation in a manifoldly more enriching degree; and of affording to the common ſupport and protection of the Empire, a very ſuperiour acceſſion of reſource and power. Yet, in theſe great criterions of proſperity, collectively conſidered, Scotland, relatively to its natural

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tural capability, is conſiderably ſuperiour. Her inhabitants, almoſt to a man loyal, induſtrious, and effective, amount, according to actual enumeration of two thirds of the pariſhes, publiſhed in the ſtatiſtical ſurvey, to nearly two millions; while in this country, by every ſober and rational calculation*, taken from ſuch documents as were founded on any thing like actual enumeration, the number of inhabitants, including not only the merely idle and profligate, but the immenſe multitude of traitors or internal foes, cannot at preſent amount to more than three millions. With reſpect to the linen manufacture, in which Ireland has all along been foſtered by Great Britain, and for which ſhe is by nature, happily, more peculiarly fitted than any other country in the world, Scotland, in her inferiour ſituation, produces annually at leaſt half the quantity produced annually by Ireland.

In foreign trade, that is, in the trade carried on with nations properly foreign and diſtinct from England, Scotland is greatly ſuperiour. In the years 1764 and 1765, the foreign exports of Scotland amounted to 1,200,000*l.* per annum. Afterwards, in the war with the Colonies, the exports were indeed materially depreſſed, becauſe a conſiderable part of the exports of Scotland was to the Colonies, and *that* commerce was then, for a time, turned into other channels. But, in the years 1783, 1784, and 1785, the exports of Scotland again revived; a conſiderable portion of Scotch capital having been, in the meantime, employed in the improvements of agriculture. In the latter year, they amounted to above a million ſterling; and

* See Doctor Price particularly.

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if Scotland has, ſince that time, continued to keep the ſame proportion of pace with England, which it had done for a long ſeries of years before, the exports of Scotland muſt at this time amount to at leaſt two millions annually: whereas, the average annual foreign export of Ireland, for the laſt ſeven years, ending Lady-day 1797, amount only to one million ſterling. But there remain yet more deciſive proofs of the ſuperiour induſtry and enterpriſe, and of the relatively ſuperiour ſtate of proſperity in Scotland. The greater extent and multiplicity of commercial correſpondence evince the former; and the greater quantity of ſhipping, and greater produce of revenue, ſhew the latter. In the year 1797, the receipts of the poſt office in Scotland amounted to 109,793*l.*; whereas, in the ſame year, the reciepts of the poſt office in Ireland amounted only to 68,256*l.** In the year 1793, the regiſter tonnage of ſhipping belonging to Scotland amounted to 159,175, in 1795 to 145,391, and in 1797 to 136,532; whereas, in the year 1793, the regiſter tonnage of ſhipping belonging to Ireland amounted only to 67,790, in 1795 only to 58,765, and in 1797 only to 53,181. In the year 1797, the net produce of Scotch revenue amounted to 1,487,000*l.*; whereas, in the ſame year, the net produce of Iriſh revenue amounted only to 1,437,516*l.*

Now, taking together all theſe facts, reſpecting that country to which nature has been ſo unpropitious, and on the poverty and wretchedneſs of which, at and be-

* There may probably be more franking here than in Scotland, but it cannot account for the difference between 68,000*l.* Iriſh, and 109,000*l.* Britiſh; for, it has been calculated, and is generally believed, that two-thirds of the correſpondence carried on by means of franking, would ceaſe to exiſt, if franks could be no longer obtained.

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fore the Union, the enemies of ſuch a meaſure for Ireland, ſeem to deſcant with ſatisfaction; and adding the univerſally admitted fact, that Scotland, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, has advanced in far greater proportion than England itſelf; it appears, that the Union of Scotland with England has greatly promoted its proſperity, as well as its tranquillity and ſecurity. We have no reaſon therefore, from the experience of the meaſure in Scotland, to dread a Union of this country with Great Britain as the blight of our bleſſings, but rather to hail it as an event, auſpicious to our proſperity, as well as to our ſecurity; if, in truth, any ſtate of things can with propriety be called proſperous, in which there is no intrinſick ſecurity.

But, be the great national benefits reſulting to Ireland from a Union what they may, it ſeems, that the circumſtance, of one hundred commoners, and thirty lords, attending their parliamentary duty in England during half the year, will ruin the city of Dublin; and therefore, the meaſure is to be indignantly rejected, without farther conſideration.

Now, what will be in fact the different ſtate of circumſtances as to the city of Dublin? ſimply, that one hundred and thirty perſons of conſiderable property, will ſpend one half of the year in London inſtead of Dublin. Theſe very perſons would, in the preſent ſtate of the two kingdoms, ſpend a conſiderable portion of their time and property in England, in the long intervals of parliamentary duty. It is natural, and perhaps proper, in men of their rank and fortune, to improve their minds, and by conſequence, improve their

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their country, in frequent perſonal intercourſe with the rank and property of the great ſiſter kingdom. Such intercourſe is neceſſary alſo, to preſerve and promote cordiality of ſentiment, uniformity of habits, and correſpondence of opinions and principles, on the great ſubjects of conſtitution and policy. It is the men of rank, property, and education, who ultimately lead the opinions, and form the habits, of the moſt important part of ſociety; and therefore, the more ſimilar ſuch leading characters reſpectively become in both countries, the more ſimilar by degrees, will reſpectively become all the orders below them; and the more eſpecially, and the more effectually, when the chaſm between the ranks in this country, ſhall, in the progreſs of induſtry and enterpriſe, and their ſure conſequence diffuſion of property, have been filled by thoſe uſeful orders of men, who bind together the higher and lower ranks, and who give to each, virtues, which, without their intervention, would for ever remain unknown. Theſe one hundred and thirty perſons, having performed their duty in parliament, will then moſt naturally, and it may be ſaid, neceſſarily, in order to vary the ſcene, to preſerve and improve their local intereſts, and to regulate their property, retire to their country, and there, among their conſtituents, employ their time, their property, and improved underſtandings, in uſeful intercourſe, and valuable improvements. The probability follows, that more of their property will then be ſpent in their own peculiar country, and particularly more among that uſeful race of men, the peaſantry, than in the preſent ſtate of things. And, if the country at large improves and flouriſhes, it is weak indeed to ſuppoſe, that the capital will not be abundantly

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abundantly ſupplied with thoſe, who having acquired affluence, will ſeek, in the gratification of all the deſires generated by wealth, the ſuperiour conveniencies of a large and commodious city. It is not merely by the nobility and higher gentry, that luxuries and expenſive conveniencies are affected. They who are daily gaining riches and conſequence, by means of their own induſtry, or the induſtry of their fathers, (and their number muſt conſtantly increaſe,) are generally the moſt profuſe in their expences: they aim to ſurpaſs in coſtly appearance, thoſe who are their ſuperiours in rank; and though their conduct may be individually unwiſe, yet the active induſtry of ſociety is promoted. Beſides, in the court of the chief governor; in the general reſort to the courts of law; in the ſeat of the univerſity; and in the centre of aggregation, which the habits of ages have made unchangeable, there is more than ſufficient ſecurity, that an abundant proportion of the rank and opulence of the nation, will conſtantly contribute to the full ſupport of the city of Dublin.

Surely, every county and town in Great Britain, except Middleſex and London, has equal reaſon to complain of the periodical reſidence of its nobility and repreſentatives at the ſeat of government, as any of the counties or towns in Ireland. The counties and towns in Great Britain, are in general as diſtant from the ſeat of government, as thoſe of Ireland, and as tenacious of their particular intereſts: but, experience and common ſenſe have long taught them, that the reciprocal benefits, derived to and from the different parts of the ſame ſtate, are ſo multiplied and ſo mutually enriching

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riching, as to annihilate all conſideration of the occaſional or periodical change of reſidence of any of its ſubjects.

But, if the city of Dublin particularly, needs an example to calm its apprehenſions, it has but to look to Edinburgh; which, in common with the reſt of Scotland, has gradually flouriſhed ſince the Union; has, not only, increaſed in inhabitants, in wealth, and in extent, but rivals in beauty and magnificence, and in a numerous nobility and gentry, the greater part of the capitals of Europe.

To repreſent the benefits of Union, however, or to anſwer objections to it, we are told, can nothing avail; for that, if it could be demonſtrated, that the meaſure is fraught with the pureſt bleſſings, or even neceſſary to our exiſtence, yet the parliaments of the two kingdoms are incompetent to the accompliſhment of it. But, if parliament be incompetent to accompliſh a meaſure of extraordinary benefit to the community, there muſt be ſome other power which is competent, and which muſt be reſorted to for the purpoſe: for, it cannot be admitted, that ſo melancholy an abſurdity can exiſt in our conſtitution, or in any wiſe or rational conſtitution, as an utter incompetence to adopt, any new regulation of ſtate, or any change in the ſyſtem of ſupreme authority, which may be found neceſſary to ſecurity, or, in any other way, productive of great publick utility. Yet, our conſtitution, from its earlieſt hiſtory, to its laſt improvement, has recognised no other power, by which ſuch great purpoſes can be effected, than the concurrent will of the three eſtates of parliament. This concurrent power, has not

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not been confined to the enaction of laws, or authoritative deciſions, binding on the whole community, *merely for* the direction or controul of the actions of the ſubject; but extends to the enlargement or diminution of the dominions of the ſtate; and to ſuch changes and improvements in the conſtitution itſelf, as may beſt ſerve the happineſs of the great community, according to the exiſting ſituation of the country, internal and external, and according to the varying circumſtances of human affairs. It adopts and confirms compacts with other ſtates, which compacts often make material changes in the property, and even in the territory of our own ſtate; it admits foreigners to all the privileges of citizenſhip; it confers and takes away franchiſe, according as publick good may require; it regulates, limits, and alters, the ſucceſſion to the crown; it varies and limits the regal prerogatives; it alters the duration of parliaments; and no loyal ſubject has yet denied that it is competent, (though he may ſtrenuouſly deny the competence of any modern popular convention) to adopt any, the moſt eſſential, reforms, in its own formation, and conſequently in the conſtitution, which the ſecurity and happineſs of the community, may point out as neceſſary, or materially uſeful. Precedents, which prove the repeated exerciſe of theſe inherent powers, have been ſo copiouſly adduced by others, that to do more than allude to them, would be idle and tedious. The principle, which founds them, as it is extracted from the hiſtory of human nature, is ſo juſtly unfolded, and ſo elegantly expreſſed, in a publiſhed ſpeech of a member of parliament*, that no words could more

* See—*the ſubſtance of Mr. William Smith's Speech*, page 43.

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aptly illuſtrate the doctrine of parliamentary competence. "Our conſtitution" ſaid he "is not one of "thoſe obſtinate and incorrigible ſyſtems, which muſt "hobble on through ages, accumulating abuſes, or "only getting rid of them by periodical revolution: "our conſtitution admits the principle of ſelf-correc-"tion: ſteady to its objects, which are freedom and "good order, it purſues the path which the period "ſupplies, for their attainment; and poſſeſſes, in the "boundleſs competence of its legiſlature, the means, "as it rolls its bleſſings through ages to poſterity, of "peaceably and imperceptibly adapting itſelf to cir-"cumſtances as they ariſe, of attending, with ſuitable "proviſions, the ſucceſſive changes of powers and in-"tereſts, manners and opinions, and of keeping pace "with time, by ſafe and gradual innovation."

But the great precedent of the Union of England and Scotland, prominent in the records of the Engliſh conſtitution, *that* conſtitution which was early adopted, and has long taken root, in this country, ſo fully applies to the preſent queſtion, and has ſo long been ſanctioned by the approbation, and juſtified by the experience, of the great and united people from whom we are chiefly derived, that it may be ſafely inferred, that no other power than the concurrent authority of the ſeveral eſtates of parliament, could conſiſtently be called upon, in the preſent analogous caſe, to make the deciſion which ſhall prove obligatory and concluſive.

In an appeal to the *loyal* inhabitants of Ireland, it is almoſt unneceſſary to ſhew, that, to call together conventions

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ventions of the people, or to resort to any of the popular and newly invented modes of deciding upon matters of national concern, would be to dissolve the bands of society, and to invalidate the securities, by which, the possession of the fruits of industry, and the good order of human life, are preserved,—and, in this day of mad vanity, *with difficulty* preserved.

In all inquiries into the nature and ends of government, nothing can be more idle and futile, than attempts, to decompose human society into its original elements, and to investigate that state of things, which is supposed to have taken place, before society or government assumed any form, or adopted any laws for the regulation and controul of human conduct. History records no such state of things; no man has ever yet seen such a state; and hitherto, it has existed, only in the imagination of those ingenious or idle theorists, who compose romances upon the nature and right of man. According to the natural situations and accidental relations, in which tribes or nations of men have been originally placed, they palpably appear to have adopted, as circumstances required, the rules or laws of conduct, with respect to themselves and to their neighbours, which experience pointed out to them as necessary. These rules or laws could not operate without effectual sanctions; and therefore, some supreme power, in every stage of society, has been found to exist, for the purpose of making law powerful and respected. Under the protection of these laws, in every progressive step of civilization, the various individuals in a state, make the innumerable exertions, which give whatever of riches, power, and general improvement, it happens to acquire.

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quire. In the progreſs of ages, we clearly obſerve, a ſyſtem is formed, perpetually acknowledged, and fully eſtabliſhed. This ſyſtem is conſtituted of conſtantly recogniſed, and long eſtabliſhed authorities; and of the various rank, excluſive property, civil ſecurity, and uſeful privilege, which have gradually grown out of the peculiar nature, circumſtances, and experience, of the people or nation, under the protection and energy of thoſe authorities. Now, it is evident, that, to refer the deciſion on any great national meaſures, to the general maſs of the people, in any form whatever, would ſink the dignity, and ſhake the fixed nature, of thoſe eſtabliſhed authorities; would withdraw all protection from the rank, property, and privilege, which the accumulated exertions of ages had created; would betray all the principles, on which thoſe exertions had been made; would eradicate from ſociety all uſeful motives; would deſtroy the whole ſyſtem of civilization; and conſign, naked and defenceleſs, to a ſtate of deſert nature, all thoſe characters, which illuſtrate and exalt the nature of man. The hiſtory of the world, the ſimpleſt common obſervation, and, if it were neceſſary, the example of France, make the concluſion too plain for diſcuſſion. If, however, any great queſtion of ſtate be referred to the deciſion of any other than the eſtabliſhed authorities, it muſt neceſſarily be to the great body of the people. There is no third, no middle, party, to which the power can be committed; for, to any ſuch party, or body of men, are oppoſed in full force, all the objections, as to want of univerſal conſent, which can poſſibly be urged againſt parliament, added to thoſe of a more irreſiſtible nature, which ariſe from the abſence

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abſence of eſtabliſhed authority, and of that preſcriptive uſage, under which the ſtate, from infancy to maturity, has been formed.

The example of diſtinct ſtates, incorporating with each other, for the purpoſe of mutual ſecurity, or of promoting the proſperity of both, is not unfrequent in in the hiſtory of civilization: and we find ſuch Unions conſtantly effected through the known and eſtabliſhed authorities, which had reſpectively governed ſuch ſtates. In England, in France, in Germany, in Batavia, in Switzerland, there have been abundant inſtances. In every inſtance indeed that can be adduced, it muſt be admitted, that, nearneſs and convenience of ſituation, ſimilar diſpoſition, language, and uſages, and common ſecurity, have, in whole or in part, induced the meaſure: and it muſt alſo be admitted, that the ſuppoſed caſes, which, in controverting the general principle of Union, have been objected, of the poſſible incorporation of ſtates totally diſſimilar and unfit to coaleſce, would probably prove equally deſtructive as unnatural, Such objections, and every extravagant ſuppoſition that has been made for the ſame purpoſe, prove no more than, that particular meaſures, in their tendency, would be bad and ruinous, and that, probably, they would meet with a correſponding fate; but they prove nothing againſt the competency of the eſtabliſhed authorities of one ſtate, to concur with thoſe of another, in a mutual incorporation, calculated to produce laſting bleſſings to both.

But, widely different is the caſe of Great Britain and Ireland from all thoſe wild imaginations. From the conſtitution

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conſtitution under which the people of England live, as already has been hinted, *that* which we enjoy was derived. At firſt, the Engliſh ſettlement here was unfit to make uſe of the perfect form of the Engliſh conſtitution: ſuch part as was neceſſary, and could be rendered operative, took place under Engliſh authority; and, from time to time, as the Engliſh ſettlers increaſed, and the reſt of the country became incorporated with them, the Engliſh conſtitution was more perfectly adopted and eſtabliſhed. At laſt, the whole of the country became compleatly ſubject to Engliſh laws; and accordingly, the principles and form of the Engliſh conſtitution, have been, by degrees, ſo perfectly adopted in Ireland, that, conſidering the executive of England is the executive of Ireland, and conſtitutes one branch of her legiſlature, we may with truth and propriety be ſaid, as we generally are ſaid, to live under the Engliſh conſtitution. The people of both kingdoms ſpeak the ſame language; the ſame religion has been long eſtabliſhed among them; they are regulated in almoſt all reſpects by exactly ſimilar laws; and their whole ſum of intereſts is bound up in one fate. They inhabit two maritime iſlands, placed near each other in a corner of Europe; their chief power and defence are maritime; they are particularly fitted for mutual aſſiſtance; they are feared and envied, and almoſt ſurrounded, by many of the moſt powerful ſtates in the world. Could any aggregate of circumſtances, more forcibly point out the propriety of Union, or tend to make the tranſition more eaſy and effectual? and ſurely, no violence can be offered either to principle or precedent, if the conſtitutional power, which originally emanated from the Engliſh conſtitution, which took

root

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root and grew up under English authority and protection, and which, has attained the nature, and usages of the English constitution, should, in conjunction with the constitutional power of its parent, adopt a Union of constitution, in spirit and in form, the same as the component parts.

But, apprehension is entertained, that the junction, of a proportionate number of lords and commoners for Ireland, with the lords and commoners for Great Britain, must impair the constitution; because, as it is insinuated, it would increase the proportion of the influence of the crown. This apprehension, whether real or affected, strengthens the necessity of consolidating the legislatures of the two kingdoms: for, it amounts to this; that the motives to unprincipled adventure in, what has been called, the trade of parliament, will be considerably diminished, if not eradicated; and that, consequently, the important concerns of the state, will not be so often impeded and injured, by those inflammatory harangues, and that mischievous spirit of intrigue, through which, the factious purposes of party, and the selfish views of individuals, are too often promoted. But the apprehension has, in truth, very little foundation: for, the patronage of the crown cannot then have so extensive an influence in parliament as at present; because, many of the members now enjoy profitable places here, which require an attendance on the duty attached to them, and which, consequently, they could not enjoy, if attending parliament in England: besides, the residence of a parliament and a corresponding administration here, requires many offices, which then would not

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not be neceſſary; and, the members to be returned for Ireland, upon the liberal plan in contemplation, would all be men of that ſuperiour rank and fortune, which at leaſt give conſiderable probability, that they would in general be actuated, by higher and more generous ſentiments, than intereſted wiſhes for a few paltry places; and if, as we hope, the talents of many of them, ſhould frequently point them out, as fit perſons to take a leading part in the conduct of the empire, Ireland will reap her ſhare of honour and importance, in the dignified progreſs of the imperial ſtate.

At all events, whatever may be the calculations on the eventual proportion of the influence of the crown, it is certain, that the Union of Scotland, has not produced ſuch increaſe of regal influence, as has, in any degree, diminiſhed the force or effect of conſtitutional oppoſition; and, it is as certain, that, within the laſt twenty or thirty years, ſome of the moſt popular meaſures, have been carried in the Britiſh parliament, that are to be found in the hiſtory of the Engliſh conſtitution. It has been determined, that commiſſioners of cuſtoms or exciſe ſhall not ſit in the Britiſh parliament; —revenue officers have been deprived of the elective franchiſe;—the general iſſue, in informations and indictments for libels, has been completely committed to the jury. Theſe and many other acts of ſimilar tendency, have fully demonſtrated the power and independence of the people, and the full proportion of influence in the democratick part of the conſtitution. And, with regard to the effect of the meaſure now in diſcuſſion, let it be impreſſed, that the lords and commoners, who

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who would appear for Ireland, in the face of obſerving Europe, would be of a deſcription, not likely indeed to engage in profligate or intereſted oppoſition, but moſt likely to join, with reſpectable and independent members like themſelves, in effectual oppoſition to every encroachment, that might be attempted, upon eſtabliſhed rights; becauſe, in eſtabliſhed rights, are at once involved, the intereſts of every rank in the community, and the extended well being of the whole.

In the conſideration of the relative ſtate, and the propoſed Union, of two kingdoms, ſo connected and ſo conſtituted as Great Britain and Ireland, the *ſentiment*, reſpecting the diſtinct name, dignity, and independence, of a diſtinct and independent kingdom, which ſeems to have rouſed many to a kind of rage, is of ſo vague and eluſive a nature, that the underſtanding finds in it nothing ſubſtantial, on which to found any rational inference or opinion. But, if national ſecurity, proſperity, virtue, and happineſs, be extended, and rendered mutually more effectual bleſſings; if both kingdoms, in the act of conferring benefits, receive reciprocally greater; if prejudice and jealouſy yield to cordiality and amity; if the power and dignity of each, contribute to the greater power and dignity of both incorporated; and, if all the valuable and honourable qualities in either people, conſpire to elevate the character of the united people; then ſhall national independence, national dignity, and national character, magnified, refined, and exalted, give nobler ſentiments to every ſubject of the United Kingdom and incite him to

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greater efforts of patriotism, in the common and illustrious cause. Under impressions, thus liberal and enlarged, may this be the motto, engraven for ever on the heart, of every inhabitant, of Great Britain and Ireland,

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

FINIS.

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MacKenna Bequest

AN

ARGUMENT

AGAINST

EXTERMINATION:

OCCASIONED BY

DOCTOR DUIGENAN'S "REPRESENTATION OF THE PRESENT POLITICAL STATE OF IRELAND."

BY A CATHOLIC AND BURKIST.

In the groves of their academy, at the end of every viſto, you ſee nothing but the gallows!

Burke's Reflections.

———Are ye not aſhamed,
With this immodeſt clamorous outrage
To trouble and diſturb the King and us?
And you my Lords,——Methinks you do not well
To bear with their perverſe objections.
Let me perſuade you, take a better courſe.

1ſt Part Henry 6th.

Dublin:

PRINTED BY H. FITZPATRICK, NO. 2, UP. ORMOND-QUAY.

1800.

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AN

ARGUMENT,

&c. &c.

THOSE who have had experience of Doctor Duigenan's literary labours, will hear without aſtoniſhment, that his work, a crouded volume of 253 pages, has lain for ſome weeks unopened before me. A ſtudied miſrepreſentation of facts, and an habitual coarſeneſs of manner, do not invite by the promiſe of entertainment or inſtruction. Such has been the character of this gentleman's former performances, and the preſent proves his habits to be too inveterate for amendment. With diſtaſte and reluctance, I changed my accuſtomed ſtudies for this book. I have at length accompliſhed my toilſome journey, over a dull, dreary and barren waſte; where no ray enlightens the gloom, except a tranſient and occaſional glare, when my author aſpires to the praiſe of jocular malignity.

Curioſity, unmixed indeed with reverential feelings, has impelled me, as it probably has many others, equally removed beyond the attractions of Doctor Duigenan's reputation. One is ſolicitous to know, by what means a man, who might have declined in years with reſpect, or at leaſt with decency, ſhould preſs forward unbidden, to court the hatred of his fellow-citizens; why he, on whom fortune ſmiles, ſhould look around him with ma-

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lignity; of what materials the ſoul is formed, which a long courſe of proſperity has not warmed into benevolence. I have been induced to read this author's work, celebrated perhaps, amidſt the ſanguinary orgies of the diminutive faction, among whom it is his miſerable vanity to be eſteemed a leader; deſpiſed by the Proteſtants of Ireland, whom he would alarm into approbation; hated by the Catholics whom he aſperſes; if hatred be not a ſentiment of too much dignity, to expreſs the diſapprobation entertained for a man, who has deſcribed the meaſure of his acquirements, and ſought the level of his talents, when he miniſters to the worſt propenſities of the meaneſt faction in the univerſe.

From a diſguſting peruſal, I paſs to an indignant controverſy. Shall a people be ſlandered, and the calumniator paſs without rebuke? Shall the vileſt policy that ever diſgraced civilized ſociety be juſtified? Shall the ceſſation of that rule be lamented, and an impious hope be expreſſed for the revival of it, without diſguiſe or ambiguity? In a ſolemn appeal to that people, whoſe good repute it ought to be the pride of all mankind to cultivate, ſhall facts be falſified and diſtorted? Shall brutality be ſoftened and palliated, and rendered plauſible, and however clumſy the diſguiſe, put forward in the garb of wiſdom? Shall the illuſtrious nobleman be traduced, whoſe military achievements are only eclipſed by the triumph of humanity in which he leads a proſtrate people to peace and order, and good Government; who will hand the laurel of India to his poſterity, entwined with the Iriſh olive, and both luxuriant, for the bleſſings of a grateful people, have been poured* on them?

Shall

* Lord Cornwallis had ample teſtimony of this, in his tour to the South laſt ſummer.

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Shall the hallowed duſt of Burke be irreverently moved, and ſhall not every man, however humble his rank, however limited his powers, fly from his repoſe to chace the obſcene profaner? Not ſo: In retorting the obloquies of Doctor Duigenan, there is no laurel to be gained.—His learning is what no man of ſenſe would wiſh to retain.—His facts, both ancient and modern, are detailed with a profligate diſregard to truth.—His inferences are the feeble operations of a mind, either naturally narrow, or pretending blindneſs from diſſimulation.—Where he attempts to ſport in ſarcaſm, his wit, like the playfulneſs of a ſea-monſter, even to perſons beyond its gripe, creates an impreſſion of horror.—His wiſdom is the waſteful cunning of a ſavage, or the jealous precaution of a tyrant.—Is greatneſs to be criticiſed, in the true ſpirit of obſequiouſneſs, he cringes with aukward apologies for diſſenting; whilſt he ſtruts forward againſt leſſer men, with arrogant intemperance. Such is the adverſary, with whom I am impelled to grapple, in vindication of a people, "more ſinned againſt than ſinning," in whoſe ranks, nature and education have aſſigned to me an humble ſtation. I cannot challenge merit in the conflict, or praiſe in the victory; and if, in the fervour of debate, I imitate my antagoniſt, by a harſhneſs of expreſſion, from which, on any other occaſion, my ſenſe of decorum would recoil, let it be recollected, that when a beaſt of the ferocious claſſes breaks in on ſocial life, you are not bound by the ſportſman's ordinary rules, in driving him back to his faſtneſs.

——————Etſi nullum memorabile nomen.
——————In poena eſt, nec habet victoria laudem
Extinxiſſe nefas tamen, et ſumſiſſe merentis
Laudabor poenas: animumque explesſe juvabit
Ultricis flammæ, et cineres ſatiaſſe meorum.*

And

* Was not Virgil a deſperate, bold, audacious, *traiterous Iriſh Romaniſt*. Note by the Editor.

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And certainly, it is not therefore unneceſſary, to detect the fallacies of a work, becauſe the talents of the author are mean, and the execution diſingenuous and contemptible. Even the malignant diligence of Sir Richard Muſgrave, has been adequate to the end he propoſed.—He has perpetuated diſcontent in minds ſubſiding into harmony, and excited alarm, where every rational cauſe of anxiety had been removed. Moſt people delight in the reſearch of marvellous anecdotes, and many who read, will admit, in indolence, the bias of their author. As a rational and authentic writer, the author of Valentine and Orſon is ſuperior to Sir R. Muſgrave; in the ſcale of uſefulneſs, I ſhould be ſorry to compare them. Yet ſuch is the effect of bold aſſumption at a little diſtance, that I have ſeen this perſon, in a London periodical publication,† encouraged to perſevere, and complimented with the epithet reſpectable. What, it was exclaimed, can be the Prieſt, when a monkey is the God?—What is the party, when Muſgrave and Duigenan are its oracles?

When the Knight ſallied forth in this adventure, armed with affidavits, ſpurious confeſſions of faith, and forgotten legends, no perſon thought his work of importance enough to deſerve a reply;‖ the greater part of his ſtatements were ſuch, as to be preſumed to carry with them their antidote and refutation. It was allowable to deſpiſe him. Now comes the Squire, to buffet with the wind-mills that his principal has not overthrown. Contempt is, to

† Anti-Jacobin Review.

‖ An anſwer has lately been given, under the title of "the State of his Majeſty's Catholic ſubjects in Ireland," to which, I refer, as a work of great merit.

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to be ſure, the due meed of his deſerts; but then, experience proves, that it is right to fruſtrate the deſign of theſe publications, by expoſing the fallacy in fact and argument, contained in them. I attribute without heſitation, to the aſſiduous circulation of Sir Richard Muſgrave's book, the protraction of diſturbance, in thoſe parts where the rebellion raged, and the heart-burnings and jealouſies, that appeared where that miſery never exiſted. Yet who could have ſuppoſed the appetite for nonſenſe to be ſo voracious, as to require the pen of detection to explain, what obviouſly appeared upon the face of it, to be the crudities of a weak, or the reveries of a crazed imagination?—That you ſhould make the council of Lateran your index, to diſcover the character of men, with whom, you have habitually aſſociated.—That in this ſcience of obſervation, in which, almoſt every man is verſed, and which is purely a matter of perſonal experience, you are to truſt implicitly to theory, and reject the evidence of your ſenſes. I have mixed with this brother ſoldier in the ranks, I know him brave, and he has betrayed no ſymptom of faithleſſneſs.—With this friend, I have long interchanged kind offices,—I have joined him at the feſtive board—I have ſeen his heart unguarded—I found him truſt-worthy and confiding. Tut, reply theſe luminaries, it is all a viſion, we can prove by a book, written ſeven hundred years back, and, for at leaſt, five centuries forgotten, that he is under an irreſiſtible neceſſity to deteſt, and to deſtroy you. But my neighbour never heard of this book. No matter; the ſpirit of it paſſes, like electricity, by contact; in ſpite of all appearance he is your foe. The authors of this doctrine feel that their

foe

prediction tends ſtrongly to realize itſelf; for if men begin by diſtruſt and coldneſs, they will probably end in open enmity.

When Virgil wiſhed to paint the mercileſs horrors of a tempeſtuous ocean, he takes the fury of an ungoverned rabble as an appropriate object of compariſon; yet according to theſe perſons in the atrocious phrenzy of an Iriſh mob, there enters no other ingredient but Popery. In the hideous ebullition of a rabble they ſee nothing leſs than the ſettled policy of a people. Doctor Duigenan aſſerts that home is to the Iriſh peaſant that place of cheerleſs wretchedneſs, that the waſtes of America, and the ſervice of many ſtates are crouded by emigrants from this order; now which is the more probable conjecture, that penury and ignorance debaſed the religion of a great portion of the poliſhed world; or that beggary was inſtigated by religion, and diſciplined to inſurrection. The conſpirators were perfectly innocent. Ordinary men conceived, that thoſe perſons ſenſible that the tranſition from beggary to turbulence was not difficult, cajoled, and ſet every paſſion into motion. But this was the mere deluſion of a vulgar mind; the buſineſs was done to their hands in the twelfth century by the Council of Lateran. O miſerable condition of this devoted land, in which the rudiments of common ſenſe are the ſubject of inveſtigation and diſpute, and the ſimple intercourſe of kindneſs an effort and teſtimonial of philoſophy!

Nunquamne reponam, vexatus toties! Will this perturbed ſpirit never be at reſt? We may determine when we ſhall know what has vexed him into this controverſy. Who conſtituted Doctor Duigenan

gnenan the watchman of the holy City? Muſt the zealous grave-digger preſs into the parochial charge before the Rector. In the eyes of the Primate * is the Church ſecure, whilſt the pious Duigenan frets in ſleepleſs anxiety for its ſafety? Have ſo many Reverend Prelates, the honor of the age and nation, eloquent and accompliſhed men, learned without affectation, and religious without hypocriſy, have a Young, a Knox, † a Newcombe, and an O'Beirne, all ſhrunk into inglorious repoſe, and left a gooſe to cackle on the capitol. Fervent and zealous, like Peter the Hermit, his prototype, but not alike perſuaſive, Doctor Duigenan preaches a cruſade againſt the Catholics of Ireland. He invokes againſt them a combination of all the energies of the State. He charges crimes ſo foul, that if his allegations are founded, the juſtice of the country ſleeps over the guilty race. He offers eternal motives for ſtrife, eternal arguments againſt peace, reconciliation and forgiveneſs. Did any adverſary, could any adverſary call down that awful interdict?

Stirpem inviſam, et fatis contraria noſtris,
Fata Phrygum. §

And engaging in this hopeful enterprize he repreſents himſelf provoked. Indeed Sir you might have choſen a more appropriate motto. I will ſuggeſt one to you, in caſe you ſhould think

* See the ſentiments of this reſpectable Prelate in the debate on the Union in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament.

† The reader is requeſted to compare with Dr. Duigenan's notions, the eloquent and chriſtian ſermon, preached by the Biſhop of Killaloe before his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, on the thanksgiving for Lord's Nelſon's victory.

§ Medias acies, medioſque per ignes
Invenere viam; at credo mea numina tandem
Feſſa jacent, odiis aut exſaturata quievi.

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think of returning to these hopeful lucubrations? "And Haman said to King Asuerus. There "is a certain people scattered abroad and dis- "persed among all the provinces of thy king- "dom; and their laws are diverse from the "people, neither keep they the King's laws; "therefore it is not for the King's profit to suffer "them. If it please the King let it be written "that they may be destroyed: and the King "took his ring from his hand, and he gave it to "Haman, the Agagite, the Jew's enemy. And "the King said, the people are given into thee, "to do with them, as it seemeth good to thee!" It will be recollected that the King changed his purpose, and Haman, the Duigenan of that time and circumstance, was hanged for his proposal. Whatever may be my opinion of my adver- sary's desert, I have more charity than to wish his career to terminate by that catastrophe. Let his heart be his avenger;—let him bear daggers but not feel them; let his gibbet be the reprobation of all who love their country, the scorn and ridicule, of those he has peculi- arly offended.

The partisans of the person whom I thus pre- sent to the public censure, will not be wanting in the attempt to make common cause between the establishment and its officious votary. I am not a member of the Protestant Church; I affect no zeal for its exclusive institutions; but I under- stand its relation to the Irish state, and I estí- mate its utility. I shall have occasion in the course of this undertaking to express more at large my sentiments on this subject. The Protes- tantism of Doctor Duigenan is not piety, but fac- tion. He does not think he exists, unless he feels himself to be oppressive. God forbid I should

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blame any man for an honeſt adherence even to the temporal welfare of that valuable portion of the chriſtian commonwealth, the Proteſtantiſm of theſe iſlands; nothing is more common than that the beſt intentioned men, fixing their eyes upon the ſame object, ſhall receive totally different impreſſions of it; and I would preſerve to every man the diſcipline in which his habits of life have been faſhioned. My charge againſt Doctor Duigenan is fairly and explicitly this. I ſee him endeavouring to draw an eternal, and an unneceſſary line of ſeparation between the two leading denominations of this country. Even that is little. They may be diſtinct to ſome purpoſes, and the conſequence be no more than uſeful and commendable emulation. But the atrocious purpoſe of this man, is ſtrife, feud, and civil diſcord, not innocent rivalſhip. Treating of the calamities of this country, he gives the effect for the cauſe, and ſeeks to immortalize the evil, by perpetuating the promoting principle. That ſurely is not Proteſtaniſm. I reſpect the Proteſtant Religion; I wiſh it ſecure in its honors and property; in the actual circumſtances of the claſs of Chriſtians, to whom by preference I join myſelf, I feel that the endowments of an affluent eſtabliſhment in this kingdom, would be miſplaced by being beſtowed upon them; but I am not the leſs ſenſible to the propriety of reſerving a ſtation amidſt the great and eminent of the world, for profeſſed ſervants and miniſters of the Goſpel.—My objection lies to the Government of Ireland on party principles.

I am ſure the favorers of this party Government are, generally ſpeaking, among the moſt looſe men in Ireland in religious obſervances. They are political, not chriſtian Proteſtants. They are indifferent to religion, as a ſanction of morals, as an emanation from God, or even as

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an inſtrument of policy. In their eyes the eſtabliſhment is but a corporation, of which to be a member is a preferable title to the patronage of the Crown in the diſtribution of offices, or conſers at leaſt a plauſible pretenſion to dominion. Hence the Union and the repeal of the Popery laws are alike objects of their abhorrence. The latter as it may tend to throw open competition, the former as it reſcues the Government from their combination, and terminates of courſe, whatever in their ſuperiority is forced, unjuſt and unnatural. A conſtitution of abuſes would ſuit them beſt, for it would occaſionally irritate the people into acts of partial and deſultory intemperance, which the powers of Government are fully adequate to repreſs. Then comes their harveſt. In the application of its powers, Government may call in their aid, and in the interval of ſuch commotions, if they can keep the Government in a a ſtate of alarm, they are ſure to encreaſe their conſequence. Of this knot or cabal Doctor Duigenan has long been the tool, and preſumes himſelf to be a leader. Of this faction, not of the intereſt of Britiſh Proteſtantiſm, he is the champion. But in this late inſtance he takes a middle courſe. Adminiſtration tired of the impracticable enterpriſe of conducting a feeble ſtate to any degree of order, or comfort or proſperity, propoſes an Union. The cabal wiſhes to protract its golden harveſt of miſgovernment. Our ſapient patriot will gratify both. Let there be an Union, he ſays, on the wretched provincial ſyſtem that has depreſſed and enfeebled Ireland. One cannot ſmile; folly, which is wicked in its craft and combination, excites other ſenſations.

Doctor Duigenan did not always hold theſe ſentiments. In a book, which was noticed in England,

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not surely for its merit, but from the assiduity of the Doctor's party, and from the unfortunate intemperance of a man of genius, which occasioned the publication, he recommends an Union, as the means of reconciling the interest of the establishment, with a liberal treatment of the popular religion. At that time, no man looked to the union of legislatures, otherwise than as to a measure of remote and uncertain speculation. The Doctor was liberal, on the event of an improbable contingency. But a concurrence of circumstances has opened the eyes of most dispassionate and well judging persons to the true interests of the country. We are like to be relieved, by an incorporation of Parliaments, from the mischiefs of an inconvenient and ill assorted constitution. The period of retribution approaches, which he fondly hoped, he had with great display of prudence and of justice postponed to the Greek calends; and lo, he comes to stultify his own act with a contradictory averment!

Was Dr. D. two years back that raw youth, that he hastily determined what he now feels it expedient to retract? Nearly all the facts upon which he grounds his actual doctrines, were made use of by him on that occasion. And this Council of Lateran, in which by the way, he is more versed, than any lay Catholic I know, had with all its accompaniments of oaths and decrees, formed the materials of a controversy in which he was engaged about twelve years since with Mr. O'Leary. And every circumstance he now relies on, was at that period satisfactorily explained by that respectable divine, and by the late pious and eminent Dr. Butler.

Thus, if his opinion at any time deserved notice, we may to the Duigenan of 1799 oppose the Duigenan of 1797. Upon that occasion he ranted, as he does now, about Romanists, and Conventions,

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Conventions, and Francis-ſtreet. I uſe his words as the admiſſion of an adverſary, in the ſame cauſe, and between the ſame parties. After ſome looſe recommendation of an Union, he ſays, "If we were one people with the Britiſh nation, "the preponderance of the Proteſtant body in "the whole empire, would be ſo great, that "all rivalſhips and jealouſies between Proteſ-"tants and Romaniſts would ceaſe for ever; and "it would not be neceſſary, for the ſafety of the "empire at large, to curb Romaniſts, *by any ex-"cluſive laws whatſoever.*" (Dr. Duigenan's letter to Mr. Grattan, page 57.) My adverſary will not refuſe to me, the benefit of this teſtimony. On two or three occaſions, he quotes his book himſelf with a ridiculous ſolemnity, as if it were a Canon of the Conſtitution, of undiſputed authority, and acknowledged wiſdom. I recollect one of our countrymen, who imagined his family affairs of ſo much notoriety at the poſt-office, as to expect that his letter ſuperperſcribed, "To my ſon, the Doctor in Paris," would reach its deſtination.—Dr. Duigenan's pompous reference to himſelf, appeared to me not diſſimilar.

Perhaps I have conſtrued harſhly the motives of this gentleman. Perhaps he merely wrote in a fit of the ſpleen; he wrote againſt the Catholics becauſe it is the cant of his cabal; and he wrote with acrimony, becauſe it is the yell of his ſpecies. When I had toiled to page 221 of his work, I was led to this conjecture. It ſeems, that in conſequence of the indiſpoſition of the Archbiſhop of Dublin, this mighty Civilian was deputed to repreſent the Prelate (whoſe Vicar-General he is) at a viſitation of the Univerſity. The Earl of Clare, Vice-Chancellor, was the efficient viſitor. The reader will call to mind the allegory, "how we apples ſwim," when the Doctor denominates himſelf, colleague

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to that Nobleman. Thoſe who are apprized of the character of the parties, will admit, that the Doctor's ſagacity was not very likely to be put in requiſition, and will eaſily believe, that he concurred in the determinations of the dignified perſon he accompanied. It ſeems Lord Caſtlereagh, having had occaſion to mention this viſitation in the Houſe of Commons, ſpoke of the Lord Chancellor in thoſe terms in which he ever muſt be mentioned by thoſe who feel the value to the ſtate of an able miniſter, and to the people, of an upright, a clear-ſighted and indefatigable magiſtrate. His Lordſhip either did not know that Dr. Duigenan acted the part of King Log, or did not think it neceſſary to advert to the preſence of a man, who appears to have been brought there for the purpoſe of bowing aſſent, without a great deal of either uſe or ornament. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ!* The Doctor's bile was moved, and he pours it forth upon the poor, proſtrate, unfriended Catholics; juſt as a child takes revenge upon the ground, when mamma has chid him. Should theſe pages reach the eye of the noble ſecretary, may I entreat of him to ſpare the public in future thoſe ebullitions of the Doctor's wrath, by addreſſing and approaching him with all due reverence. As I have been provoked to commence, it may be my fate henceforward to watch over this gentleman's political evolutions; and in truth, I am not thoroughly content with the occupation of a bear-ward. But poſſibly I beſeech in vain. Mayhap the miniſter has engaged in ſome Union project, with the paſtry cooks and ſnuffmen: He will continue to provoke a controverſy ſo beneficial to their trade; for to their receptacles for ponderous treatiſes, by the law of gravitation, does the Doctor tend; and thither my humble labours muſt accompany him.

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The books, which he alledges, as immediate provocation of his attack, fell into my hands, as into thoſe of every other perſon who ſuffered his mind to enter into the great conſtitutional queſtion that now engages us. To ſpeak of theſe, as overt acts of a conſpiracy againſt the Church of Ireland, hatched and matured by the Catholics, and to make them the pretence of a war-hoop againſt that people, is refining on abſurdity. Dr. Duigenan knows, and ſo does every man, who has read the book, that, " The Conſiderations on the State of Ireland," were written neither by a Catholic, nor an Iriſhman, nor by any one in habits of intercourſe with any individual of the Catholic people. With great ſpirit, and eloquence, but not always accurately inſtructed as to the ſtate of this country, this writer reproves the Proteſtants (among whom unqueſtionably exiſts the oppoſition to the Union) for lukewarmneſs to the cauſe of the empire, and for the extravagant hope, not general, but ſomewhat prevalent, that they are to to be upheld by the power of the empire, in theſe arrogant pretenſions that Dr. Duigenan urges. " The Caſe of Ireland Re-conſidered" Dr. D. muſt equally have known to be the work of a gentleman, who, altho' of Catholic connexion and deſcent, had taken no part whatſoever in their politics. If Dr. D. was unacquainted with theſe facts, he might have learned them from thoſe with whom he every day aſſociates. The gentleman in queſtion has two deſperate blots in Dr. D's mind—he can think, and he is a Catholic. His book, as well as I can recollect it, was the work of an acute and intelligent mind, much improved by reading, but more by obſervation. At the time, it occurred to me, that he underſtood every country in Europe better than his own.

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And in ſome collateral obſervations, he was neither accurate, nor happy. He argued the condition of the Catholics, as a caſe of ultimate oppreſſion, which it has not been for many years back, but of very conſiderable inconvenience;* and he argues the matter, as it ſtood before the year 1793, without giving credit to the ſuperior government for the great reduction of grievance upon that occaſion. Others have fallen into the ſame error, always with injury to the cauſe they have eſpouſed; and on this occaſion, his adverſary has not failed to profit by his blemiſhes. However, this author, as he was well warranted to do, uſed the privilege of a free ſubject, in expreſſing his ſentiments upon a public queſtion; and if his doctrines even were reprehenſible, which in the groſs they are not, but praiſeworthy, it would ſtill furniſh no ground of accuſation, againſt a People.—At this rate we might be attaint of treaſon, becauſe on the ſurface of Doctor Duigenan's gall, there floated one drop of the milk of lenity.—

'Theſe gentlemen are competent to their own vindication, my buſineſs is with general principles.'

With ſome of Doctor Duigenan's facts, I am not diſpoſed to quarrel, but indeed the number is ſmall.—For inſtance, when he ſays that his friend Mr. Smith wrote two able pamphlets on the Union, I readily admit the fact; and if he had added, that Mr. Grady and Mr. Johnſon diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſame manner, and that the diſpaſſionate and rational arguments with

* I muſt be underſtood, to refer to the actual ſtate of the laws againſt Catholics, not the manners that ariſe out of the principle of excluſion; theſe never were more ſevere than at preſent. But the perſons I allude to, by reſting on the letter of the law, and omitting to notice the ſpirit, appear to exaggerate the grievance, and obviouſly weaken the argument.

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with which Mr. Cooke opened the diſcuſſion, have not ſince been excelled or much extended, he ſhould have equally had my concurrence. I admire the gravity of the hiſtoric muſe, when the Doctor formally relates, that Lord Minto, "before his advancement to the peerage, was known by the name and title, of Sir Gilbert Elliot Bart." (ſtate of Ireland page 175) and again, (page 230) that, "the Duke of Portland, is chief of the Dutch family of Bentinck, in England." I admit, that, "Papiſts are non-conformiſts," (page 195) without putting my author's learning to the teſt, by referring, as he deſires me, to "Blackſtone's Commentaries, vol. iv. page 57, octavo edition. But here I muſt cloſe the account." I ſcarcely believe that there is in the entire book, another poſition I can aſſent to. Indeed I ſhould have allowed equal credit for the accuracy of his information, as to the preciſe days, on which different regiments of Engliſh militia landed. Men generally know little matters very well, who know nothing elſe worth communicating.

A ſtriking inſtance of Doctor Duigenan's diſingenuouſneſs, at this moment meets my eye, which, before I proceed, I ſhall juſt point out, that the Pitts, and Mintos, and Sheffields of the Empire, may be apprized, of the temper and credit of the man who propoſes to be their conductor. He inſerts (page 12) the oath of ſupremacy, which, according to him, all Catholics abſolutely refuſe to take. Now that oath contains various members, of very different import, and the Doctor crouds all together, without diſtinction of what is refuſed, and what admitted by the Catholics. Why he does ſo, I leave the reader to determine. That oath abjures the ſuppoſed depoſing power of the Pope, the temporal power

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power of that Prelate, alſo his *eccleſiaſtical and ſpiritual* authority. Theſe two words, and theſe two words alone, the Catholics object to; and in direct contradiction to what he aſſerts, this very teſt, with only the omiſſion of theſe two words, conſtitutes the qualification which every Catholic takes, in order to be entitled to the benefit of the relaxing ſtatutes. And Doctor Duigenan was aware of the fact, when he made this ſtatement. For he was himſelf the member of the Houſe of Commons, upon whoſe motion in the year 1793, this form of oath was incorporated into the act of Parliament. He muſt then have known, that the oath was impoſed by the Legiſlature, was accepted by the Catholics, and has for ſeveral years back been aſſidiouſly adminiſtered.

" The balance of property, " ſays Dr. D." " is as 39 to 40 in favour of the Proteſtants. Yet (page 26) if the Catholics are made eligible to Parliament, they will fill the Houſe of Commons, and have conſiderable influence in the Peers, and force the Crown into their meaſures." How is all this to be brought about?—By the ſhifting of property. Then theſe barbarous Romaniſts are to be the only induſtrious in the land, and the cultivated Proteſtants the only ſpendthrifts.—They are to be ſo too, in a moſt extravagant degree.—Every Catholic is to be invincibly firm to the intereſt of his Church, and every Proteſtant indifferent to the care of his eſtabliſhment. Is this the argument of a man of underſtanding, or the rant of one who contradicts common ſenſe, in order, out of the jealouſies which he endeavours to excite, to ſtrike a faction, of which he will be the leader?—Miſerable vanity of an outcaſt and forlorn mind! I will not compliment him with the name of bigot, for however erroneous its object, bigotry implies ſome principle.

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Admitting Dr. Duigenan's apprehenſion to have any ſemblance of reality, what is his modeſt propoſal?—Why truly to counteract the courſe of nature: to make laws againſt the growth of man.—And to what end?—To protect a ſyſtem, which, according to this gentleman's doctrine, is not able to protect itſelf. I much ſuſpect that Dr. D. is not ſo much attached as I am to the civil eſtabliſhment of Proteſtantiſm. I am ſure he does not ſupport it by arguments in any degree ſo ſolid, or ſo ſpecious as thoſe which preſent themſelves to my mind at this moment. He dreads the riſing affluence of Ireland may devolve excluſively upon the Catholics, and therefore he would hamper them by jealouſy and penal laws. That is, by compulſory means, he would keep up a forced eſtabliſhment. Why ſhould men be inert, becauſe they are Iriſh Proteſtants? or if they are inert, why ſhould the empire turn from the ordinary track of legiſlation to protect their indolence? Here is an eſtabliſhed preponderance, that of property, which can create no repining; muſt thoſe who enjoy it, be ſtimulated by invidious privileges to uphold their own conſequence? When Dr. D. wiſhes to make the Catholics contemptible, he talks of their beggary; when he deſires to repreſent them formidable, he brings up their numbers. Now let me place theſe two arguments, ſide by ſide, that the public may judge the ſtrength of them; remember we treat not of phyſical force in the field, but of political influence. Firſt, "the Romaniſts are ſo poor, that they have no influence in the ſtate." Secondly, "they are ſo numerous, that unleſs you withold certain rights, they will be politically formidable." Unleſs they are in a ſituation to add the poſſeſſion to the right, I ſhould imagine the latter might without hazard be conceded.

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In point of ſecurity you would not ſubtract any thing from yourſelf, whilſt you would gratify a public feeling, and remove an invidious diſtinction between ſubject and ſubject. Many a man in Ireland, who has not pretenſion to be a ſeneſchal or an exciſeman, is made to feel in the ordinary intercourſe of things, that he is legally incompetent to be a ſtateſman.

Now let us take the argument the other way, and examine what acceſſion of ſtrength will franchiſe give to numbers. I preſume if men go into a field of battle, they will neither be vigorous nor deſperate in proportion to their privileges. A man will not fight the better, becauſe he is qualified to be Lord Chancellor. Of courſe we muſt confine our ſpeculation to regular ſociety, and there every man knows, that the weight of numbers is counteracted by the weight of property. If it were otherwiſe, no government could ſtand an inſtant. In a ſtate of nature you count heads; but whilſt the principle of property prevails, you muſt count men in maſſes, as diſciplined by their followings and their intereſts.* Dr. Duigenan confounds both conditions to embarraſs the incautious mind. Does he thus endeavour to manifeſt his love, (page 206) or make proſelytes to his enmity. With equal candour he waves all difference between eligibility and actual enjoyment. Am I an elector, becauſe I may acquire a freehold?—Am I a member of Parliament, becauſe I am qualified to be elected? When privileges are conferred by law, they are to be exerciſed in the ratio of influence and property. But in the language of Doctor Duigenan's ſchool, it

* By conſequence, a peaſant fighting againſt his landlord, during a temporary ſuſpenſion of regular ſociety, i no evidence that he would act againſt him politically, whi it the dependence is in full vigour, *See Dr. D. page*

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t would ſeem, that by ſurrendering the principle of excluſion, you called every Catholic in the land to the Senate or the Council Board; that the courts of law were to be adjourned to a barn, to be held by Hackball and his gipſey juſtices. Certainly, where he urges the inferior property of the Catholics, to ſhew, that even if they were diſpoſed to hoſtility to the ſtate, they could not be formidable, his concluſion is accurate; but, where he exaggerates the poverty of a great branch of the people, in order to juſtify the excluſion of them, from the kind cares and merciful providence of legiſlation, he holds the language of an ideot and a monſter.

Were all the immunities conferred, which the Conſtitution has to offer, ſtill the influence of the Catholics would remain inferior, and their majority of population be far outweighed, by the dependent ſituation of the greater part of them.

But Dr. Duigenan, who every where oppoſes theory to experiment and fact, has an hypotheſis ready to anſwer this objection. He ſpeculates upon a rapid change of property. Wherefore is it to be preſumed, that, in the ſhifting of property, the courſe of transfer muſt be peculiarly favourable to the Catholics? They have the ſame provocations to alienation with other men, and their means of acquiring are rather inferior. They are it is true a majority, but not of perſons in the direct high road to accumulation. Such have been the advantages, enjoyed by the members of the favored religion during the late century, that in ſome parts of Ireland there is no ſuch thing known, as a Proteſtant below the middle claſs of competency. Add to this the habits that are formed in the North, ſo peculiarly favourable to commercial proſperity. I rely on it, that of thoſe deſcriptions who are likely to emerge, either

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either by trade or husbandry, into superior stations, the Catholics have not above an equal share, if indeed they have so much; the two lucrative professions of the law will continue to be very much Protestant, because they are the usual resort of the younger children of the of the landed interest; the patronage of the crown will follow political influence; and the church is Protestant exclusively. Property in fact is power, and here is an ample security for preponderance, if such preponderance be necessary. Although it matters little what is admitted, merely to form the basis of argument, yet Doctor Duigenan's estimate is so grossly erroneous that I cannot receive it. I suppose upon a rough sketch, that between Protestant and Catholic the proportion of actually beneficially interest in * land, may be in favor of the former as seven to one; but then, when you rise above 500l. income in land, the proportion diminishes in favor of the Protestant, and as you ascend it narrows entirely. By consequence, the Protestants having all the large estates, and the superior tenures, and the Catholics, either as tenants or otherwise, standing in need of those obligations which the higher can confer on the middle class of property, and the great Catholic properties being mostly collected together in three or four counties, whilst that of the Protestants is diffusive, the relation between the respective parties in point of political influence, accruing from land, may be as twenty to one, in favor of the Protestants. Great estates are better protected from alienation by family settlements than diminutive interests. That again is in favour of the Protestant preponderance. It has a further and final protection in the ordinary prudence by which men guard their

* Dr. D. makes no allowance for derivative interests in land, but takes the proprietor in chief, as the sole usufruc-

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their acquiſitions. And if elder brothers at any time are prodigal, younger ſons will offer to ſupply their place, enriched in the ordinary courſe of things by ſo many ſignal opportunities of emolument.

In the preſent ſtate of property, the balance in favour of Proteſtantiſm is great, by the progreſs of alienation it muſt continue ſo for centuries. But this is not ſufficient; the preponderance ariſing from property gives no offence; it does not irritate; it furniſhes no opportunity to glut the greedy appetite of confiſcators. I could name here ſome of the Doctor's friends, who are deeply diſappointed indeed, that the rebellion did not extend among the opulent Catholics; who ſigh bitterly to ſee that the Eſcheatorſhips of Leinſter, and Munſter and Conaught continue nominal offices.

It would ſeem indeed, that Doctor Duigenan fears the indifference of the Proteſtants more than the averſion of the Catholics. If this libel iſſued from what he terms the *Monaſtery at Maynooth*, well might he exclaim. But no, it is the * unplaced Judge of the High Court of Prerogative; the independent Civilian whoſe name occurs in the Court calendar, as filling about a dozen offices under the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment of of Ireland, he it is who tells you, that naked zeal is a better rampart to the Church of Rome, than education, intereſt and conviction to the church of Ireland. It is he who repeatedly aſſerts, that the Church of Rome ſuffers no deſertion by free-thinkers, but that the other claſſes of religioniſts are ſubject to that

* This Gentleman whoſe appointments exceed £2000. per. ann. to gain more credit where he is not known, aſſerts, (page 233) that he is neither placed nor penſioned.

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that mental calamity. Inſtruct us Doctor, what is the wonderworking charm, which in this age of tottering piety, faſcinates men to their religious obligations beyond all power of reſiſtance. O! it is the Council of Lateran, which tumbles on us, like fetters on the god Proteus; prieſts and potentates go ſearch for the taliſman.

But unfortunately it happens that Abbé Sieyes and M. de Perigord, as well as our own valuable Dr. Troy and Dr. Moylan, were once under the influence of this planet of Lateran; perhaps they are not out of it yet; and if Mr. Pitt, inſtead of ſubſidiſing Ruſſians, would diſpatch Dr. Duigenan and Sir Richard Muſgrave to the conſulate, with half a dozen copies of the acts of this renowned council, the entire French Republic might happen to be moon-ſtruck.

The principle of Dr. Duigenan's book is, that the Catholics are incorrigible,—are irreclaimable; if his arguments prove any thing, they go to inculcate the propriety of reducing the entire race to predial ſlavery. Make Helots of them, and then, you may have the additional advantage of imitating a claſſic ſport by occaſionally abridging the ſuperfluous crowd; and the Doctor, or if his patriot cares do not permit him, ſome choſen friend might, as ſuperintendant general of Helots, preſide at the Spartan feſtival. To proceed in this courſe boldly and at once, would be more equitable and more judicious, than to ſuffer an obnoxious people to acquire property, and then purſue them with penalties and verbal outrage, becauſe forſooth property may give power, and they are not ſo unfortunate as you would wiſh them.* The propoſal is not without precedent. Andrew Fletcher

* Vixque tenet lacrymas, quia nil lacrymabile cernit. See for an accurate deſcription of theſe perſons, the entire progreſs and picture of Envy by Ovid.

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Fletcher, the celebrated anti-unioniſt of the laſt age, propoſed to reduce the poor of Scotland to houſe ſlavery; for the anti-unioniſts of that day, like thoſe of the preſent, when they talked of liberty, never meant any thing beyond their own privileges.

Dr. Duigenan felt, that if his pretended jealouſy of the power of the Catholics, bore any ſemblance of reaſon, the alarm muſt be at an end, when we incorporate with Great Britain. This prolific people cannot overſhadow the Empire. But determined to allow no eſcape from his *furcæ caudinæ*, he has written a book to cloſe to us that avenue. It muſt be perfectly natural to ſay, if you deſire to have a popular conſtitution, frame it ſo as to admit the people without material exception; and by an union you can effectually attain that end. The Proteſtantiſm of Great-Britain is ſo unequivocal, that you have no occaſion to reſort to a rivalſhip of rights or protective penalties. This is ſecurity beyond the fears of the moſt timid alarmiſt. It is a principle upon which a a benevolent and patriotic mind may proceed, in ſurrendering even the baubles of national importance; and ſeveral of the wiſeſt and moſt honorable men in Ireland, have been actuated by this principle. They conſider that our narrow ſphere of politics, circumſcribed to mere domeſtic regulation, was not capacious of two parties, ſo prone, and ſo eaſily moved, to factious antipathies; unwilling to exclude any, they propoſe in favour of all, to change the ſcene to a more ample theatre, where local provocations do not ariſe, and where the animoſities are made to ſubſide by the mixture of new men and extended intereſts. But far from ſuch minds as thoſe we examine, is a ſentiment of virtuous and patriotic ſenſibility. We are

drawn

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drawn into a critical conflict of adverſe paſſions. "Throw overboard the Parliament," ſay compaſſionate and unambitious men. * Throw overboard the people," ſay the confiſcating Anti-unioniſts. "Away with both," exclaims kind-hearted Duigenan. "Let my name float on the ſtream of time, the founder of a faction, although it reign over a waſte, and mankind regard its principles with horror." The object of this gentleman's work is to induce the people of England to adopt his hatred of the Catholics. Where he preſſes his remonſtrance moſt earneſtly, I did expect that he would have addreſſed ſome argument of policy to that wiſe nation; (ſee page 194, 56, &c.) that he would have pointed out ſome inconvenience in admitting the objects of his hatred to the privileges from which he wiſhes them to be excluded; poſſibly he might undertake to prove that if the Earl of Fingall, or the Viſcount Gormanſton, or the Viſcount Kenmare ſhould riſe to addreſs the Peers at Weſtminſter, the ancient Iriſh oak, which has for centuries upheld the Abbey roof, animated by the kindred voice, would deſert its ſtation, and the edifice fall in upon the noble auditory. Our ſtateſman is content to enumerate certain ſtatutes, which ſtand in the way of the admiſſion of Catholics into the Britiſh legiſlature. But he forbears to tell what evil is to ariſe from placing things in the ſituation they would have held, had theſe ſtatutes never been enacted. Forſooth if theſe laws are changed they will be altered, and that is the ſum of his argument, and denunciation. Here the political eſſay upon nothing ruſhes full upon my mind. Here I pauſe to contemplate the wiſdom, not the wit, of the meditation on a broom-ſtick.

* I mean to apply this epithet, to a part only, but certainly the moſt conſiderable part of the oppoſers of the Union

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Every diſpaſſionate perſon will admit, that terror to be groundleſs which Dr. Duigenan endeavours to excite, that the Catholics may aſcend to any ſuperior or excluſive power into the State, by the means of their property. The objection is without weight, even upon the ſeparate eſtabliſhment of Ireland; but in the contemplation of an Union, ſuch apprehenſion is to the laſt degree prepoſterous. Individual Catholics might be advanced, but they would not bring their party with them. The Kirk is not nearer to the throne, although the teſt laws have been abrogated againſt all but Catholics; and although in conſequence, ſome of the firſt ſituations in this country, are occupied by perſons, who were educated amongſt the diſſenters, and have never diſavowed their tenets or renounced their communion.——The minds of ſome men are ſo perverted by the corporation ſpirit, that if one argues againſt a faction in poſſeſſion, they ſuppoſe he cannot raiſe his mind beyond a faction in reverſion.

My principle is to extinguiſh both. To preſerve to the eſtabliſhed Church its rank and its endowments. I wiſh to ſee "Religion rear its mitred front in Courts and Parliaments." The Paſtors of every other Church, with which it is found neceſſary to accommodate the ſubjects of this land, are in my opinion, entitled to ſuch reſpectability of ſituation, as, without placing them beyond their flock, will uphold their function. I wiſh to withdraw the minds of all men, from politico-religious faction, and not diſturbing any in the religion of his preference or education, to indulge to each individual the full advantage of his birth, his fortune, and his talents in the true ſpirit of our admirable conſtitution Whether uniformity in worſhip, be more deſirable than a diverſity of opinion is a queſtion that we are not practically to determine.

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determine. With us uniformity is not to be procured, and the baſis of our ſettlement muſt be forbearance. We are to act upon the materials that are before us. Where thoſe are not ſtrictly the ſame as in Great-Britain, it would ſeem to me, who am no Doctor of civil law, but a plain man, that our arrangements ought to be adapted to our peculiar circumſtances.

The appointment exclaims Doctor Duigenan, of "a Romiſh Viceroy, a Romiſh Lord Chancellor, of Romiſh Judges, of a Romiſh Commander in Chief, &c. (page 193) muſt all tend to the ſubverſion of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment." But he puts an extreme caſe, which in fact admits of a medium. No candidate may ever preſent himſelf; and the matter for which we contend is, not that ſuch an appointment ſhould actually take place, but that, if ever a man ſhould ariſe, in whom other qualities countervailed the difference of Religion, the Crown ſhould not be prohibited to employ him.—Will you refuſe this diſcretion to his Majeſty?

If the Roman Catholics of this country, were diſcontented, becauſe certain great officers were not choſen from their body, then indeed would they be turbulent and abſurd, and then indeed would Doctor Duigenan's allegations be verified. But the principle of excluſion is that, which furniſhes a rational ground of diſcontent. If this principle extended no further than to cloſe the door of certain ſituations, it would be *bellum de lanâ caprinâ*, to contend with vehemence againſt it. But the branches of the principle widely extend thro' life. There is a ſuperiority aſſerted between men of the ſame rank.—There is a jealouſy which occurs in daily practice.—There is the power of ſuch men as Doctor Duigenan to aſſert, and to quote the law of the land as their authority, that to them the ſtate more peculiarly belongs, and

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and that they are better entitled to its confidence. Among other juſtifications of the ſyſtem, the popery laws in England have been reſorted to. The injuſtice may be equally great in England, but not ſo the inconvenience. Whatever reſtrictions are impoſed upon the Catholics of England apply to a ſmall ſociety; thoſe in Ireland embracing a people, affect all the manners and inſtitutions of a country. The Catholics of England are actually entitled to fewer franchiſes than their brethren of Ireland, ſtill their condition, as between individual and individual, is preferable, becauſe there is no temper cultivated to their diſadvantage. And it is to this point, that the Union of legiſlatures particularly applies. I do not heſitate to pronounce, that altho' it ſhould not immediately tend to encreaſe the franchiſes of the Catholics, yet if the Union eſtabliſhment leaves the middle rank of people more at eaſe, and provides for the poor a more efficient government, it is a form of conſtitution preferable to an unqualified repeal, with the excluſive ſpirit and the antipathies ſubſiſting. That ſuch conſequence muſt reſult, from the tranſlation of our jealous ariſtocracy, has, I apprehend, been elſewhere proved, and I will not detain my reader by a repetition, that would neceſſarily lead me beyond the limits I preſcribe to myſelf.

It may be demonſtrated with very great eaſe, that from that day on which the rights of property were communicated to the Catholics, the popery laws were effectual only for the purpoſes of irritation. The right of franchiſe could be of no uſe, without the previous poſſeſſion of land; and whatever was the qualification of Electors, the Catholics poſſeſſing land muſt have an influence proportioned to the extent of their poſſeſſion. Leſs they could not have had, and more the extended qualification could not give them.

So

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So on the preſent ſcale of penal ſtatutes; altho' the Catholics do not ſit in Parliament, yet they will influence the legiſlature and the government, in the ratio of their weight and property. There is no poſſibility of preventing them from extending their conſequence ſo far; and further they could not proceed, even altho' they were numerically a majority. As to the wiſdom or policy of telling the peaſantry that they ſhall not be great officers of ſtate, becauſe they are turbulent; or of ſetting limits to the commendable ambition, that would for example, prompt a barriſter to aſpire to the diſtinction of a king's council; or of taking from a private gentleman the local rank that uſually appertains to his property; theſe things may be well, but the arrangement of my mind cannot admit them. If the hardſhip affects few, the caſe appears to me to include unneceſſary ſeverity; if it extends to many, it ſeems impolitic. It appears not to augment, but to undermine the public ſecurity.

In truth, the weight of the ſubſiſting popery laws falls preciſely on that claſs of men, from whom of all others there is leaſt to be apprehended. The Iriſh nobility do not much betake themſelves to active politics. Perhaps in that rank. a man is rendered more conſpicious by being excluded from his place in Parliament. A commoner of large fortune has not only this advantage, but he is ſaved the expence and trouble of a county canvas. The perſon peculiarly fruſtrated in his views is he, who having cultivated thoſe qualities, which are uſually devoted to the public ſervice, is prohibited to appear on the theatre to which he is directed. Very moderate means both of rank and fortune have placed their poſſeſſor in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons.

Now men of this claſs would probably have learned, from the courſe of cultivation of their minds,

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minds, to reſpect the civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution. If on that ſide they are remiſs, it is to be preſumed that they would take a leſſon of adherence from the miniſter, whoſe favor is eſſential to their fortune.

There is one franchiſe, to which, in caſe the Union takes effect, it ſeems ſcarcely poſſible to frame an objection. That the few Roman Catholic Peers, not in number above ſix, ſhould vote for the Peers repreſentatives.

I am at a loſs to aſcertain for what, other than inviduous purpoſes, Doctor Duigenan introduced the bill of rights, as an obſtacle to the admiſſion of the Catholics at any future period to the Imperial Parliament. This I will venture to aſſert, that the ſpirit of the bill of rights, and of every other ſcheme of imperial policy, will be more outraged than reſpected by the excluſion. I recollect no ſuch proviſion in the bill of rights as this Gentleman alludes to; but even if there were, the bill of rights was never deſigned to be an immutable ſtandard of Conſtitution. It was framed to meet the exigencies of the times, and as theſe exigencies vary, ſo muſt the bill of rights, or it would become the converſe of its deſignation. Will any man aſſert, that excluſion was a favourite principle of Lord Somers?—Will any man aſſert of that great framer of the bill of rights, that if he had foreſeen a contingency, in which, an active and high ſpirited people were to be added to the ſupporters of Britiſh freedom, and Britiſh intereſt, he would turn his back, and give them up to the aſcendancy of Doctor Duigenan? I repeat, that I know not to what proviſion he alludes; but if there be any member of the bill of rights which ſeems to militate, againſt the admiſſibility of the Catholics to the Imperial Parliament, the removal of a ſingle clauſe, would not ſubvert

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vert the modern charter of our liberties. It is undoubtedly admitted by Magna Charta, that men in the condition of villenage, might be capriciouſly impriſoned;* yet Magna Charta is not impaired, neither has it fallen into diſeſteem, altho' in the change of manners, villenage has ceaſed, and arbitrary impriſonment is prohibited.

Whatever may be the merit of the corporation and teſt laws, the conſideration of them is utterly irrelevant to the preſent queſtion. In Ireland they are abrogated, as againſt all but Catholics. In England they do not affect the qualification to ſit in Parliament. There, Roman Catholics are alone excluded from Parliament, and that by laws, which are not connected with the corporation and teſt acts. The repeal of the former, if it ever take effect, will exactly leave the latter in their preſent condition.

The articles of the Scotch Union, are again preſſed into Doctor Duigenan's ſervice. On that occaſion no caſe aroſe ſimilar to that at preſent in our contemplation. In forming the qualification to ſit in Parliament, the laws of the reſpective countries were complied with. The preſſing peril of that day, was the poſſible change of the ſucceſſion; this was anxiouſly provided againſt. But no man can aſſert, that the public faith was pledged to the principle of incapacitating Catholics to ſit in Parliament.

Suppoſe it were, would the letter be obligatory againſt the ſpirit of the Act of Union? Miſerable indeed would be the condition of the Britiſh people, if their Government is bound by a fixed and immutable rule, which, is not to be relaxed from neceſſity, from policy, from

* Nullus *liber* homo impriſonetur, &c.

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from juſtice. The ſpirit of the treaty of Union, with reſpect to eccleſiaſtical affairs, is, that the Engliſh nation retaining its attachment to reformed epiſcopacy, the Scotch Nation retaining its predilection for Preſbyterianiſm, theſe forms of church government ſhall continue to be the invariable diſcipline in either country. Should the temper of either country invite an alteration; ſhould the preſent eſtabliſhment become inconvenient, and that inconvenience be unequivocally manifeſt; ſhould Scotland, for inſtance, demand the inſtallation of thoſe Biſhops, whoſe ſucceſſion is preſerved among their own adherents, will Doctor Duigénan aſſert, that the Britiſh Parliament is incompetent to grant this boon? Epiſcopacy and Preſbyterianiſm may both be very valuable modifications of Chriſtianity; yet one of the two muſt be in fact nearer than the other to the original diſcipline; it is poſſible, that either Church may become ſenſible of its miſtake; but here is no remedy, the parties are rivetted by an obſolete law to an unacceptable regulation! Is the Britiſh government competent to accept an acceſſion of territory, on the condition of admitting its new ſubjects to the full franchiſes of its conſtitution?—The affirmative will not be queſtioned. Then, if the treaty of Union is not an impediment to the acquiſition of new ſubjects, can it prevent you from attaching the old to the ſtate by a cloſer and more improved relation? What is this rigid rule that is never to be ſoftened?—What is the contract which no tribunal can reviſe, which no equitable juriſdiction can benignly expound?—What is the preſcription, that runs againſt a change of manners, policy, and temper, the things of all others moſt variable?—Might I not rather aſk, what is the mind that is capable of ſuch puerility?

I have

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I have followed Doctor Duigenan in thoſe arguments by which, he controverts his former opinion, that, " In caſe of an Union, it would not be neceſſary to curb Romaniſts by any excluſive laws whatever." That part of them which relates to the imperial government, muſt I apprehend, appear to have little weight. But when government and ſway are compleatly put out of the queſtion, what can juſtify an excluſion from ſituations within this country? The ſyſtem provides for dominion, not ſecurity. But, as I have already obſerved, this unnatural pre-eminence is what the abettors of the ſyſtem deſire to retain. Their piety is the luſt of power; their anxiety for religion, is neither more nor leſs than an earneſt deſire to retain a lucrative monopoly.

The Catholic nobility of Ireland conſiſts of ſeven Peers. Of whom, one (the Earl of Shrewſbury) has no connexion of property in this kingdom; and the family of another (Viſcount Taaffe) has been eſtabliſhed in Germany for above fifty years, has alienated its Iriſh eſtates, and renounced all intercourſe with this country. There is another peerage, which in the courſe of ſucceſſion is likely to devolve upon a Catholic. To ſuppoſe, that theſe noblemen would attempt to form a religious faction, is in direct oppoſition to the eſtabliſhed character of ſome of the moſt reſpectable perſonages in the empire. But they muſt poſſeſs the power of magic, if any faction they are competent to form in the election of peers, could be efficient to direct that election, or to influence the ſubſequent parliamentary conduct of the peers elected. Thus much I have ſtated as a branch of the public queſtion which I inveſtigate, but the matter approaches too nearly to a perſonal concern, to be preſſed with delicacy by any, who do not poſſeſs the ſentiments of the noble perſons intereſted.

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With regard to the enumerated great offices, would it not be more ſound, both in policy and prudence, to abandon the principle of excluſion, which is offenſive, and be circumſpect in the appointment.

In this metropolis, of which ſo great a portion of the trade is Catholic, a perſon of that religion cannot hold the place of bank-director, Dr. Duigenan will inſtruct me here, that the Catholics do not poſſeſs a great proportion of the bank property. For argument, I will admit his aſſertion. It only proves, that they are incompetent, if they were diſpoſed, to purſue a ſeparate intereſt.

I do not ſee that at the bar, a man is more formidable to the ſtate in a ſilk, than in a ſtuff gown, or that he obtains any 'vantage ground, by being a maſter in Chancery or Serjeant.

We are told by Doctor Duigenan, that the Catholics entertain tenets* which may interfere with the common law, for example on the ſubject of marriage and legitimacy. By the actual law of Ireland, one of that religion may be judge of an eccleſiaſtical court, in which, ſuch queſtions are cogniſable; but he cannot preſide in the courts of common law, or determine a cauſe of prize in the court of Admiralty. In truth the very nature of the excluſions and every article of them prove, more effectually than a volume of argument, that no ſerious apprehenſion is entertained from this quarter. They do not fall upon the great popular intereſt of the Catholics but upon the few who emerge; and they are limitations for the moſt part upon the royal prerogative, which is uſually employed to attach men to the exiſting eſtabliſhments. They place the Catholics more out of the ſphere of influence.

Now

* I deny that any ſuch tenets are maintained, although I take the propoſition here as if it were true.

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Now let me intreat of thoſe who harraſs their minds with Dr. Duigenan's bug-bears to take the ſubject in another point of view, and weigh the effects upon the ſtate of Ireland, of obſtinately adhering to this principle of party Government and of excluſion. The controverſy reſembles in many reſpects that which agitated the Roman Republic, when one order claimed to reſerve to itſelf, and the other to partake in, the eligibility to curule offices. The Patricians repreſented, with as much ſpecioufneſs, as the advocates in our day for excluſive privilege, that where the majority was, there would be the nomination. But we know, that when the conceſſion took effect, no ſenſible alteration appeared. Rank, and property, and public ſervice recommended, as before, to elevation. But the parties, whom this ſenſible diſtinction had kept aloof and ſeparate from each other, were thence forward blended. I ſhould much doubt whether a ſimilar fuſion of parties could take place here, on an eſtabliſhment of ſeparate Legiſlatures; becauſe I queſtion that it might be held to be the intereſt of the Government, as it undoubtedly is the intereſt of certain leading men not to permit it. When theſe intereſts are ſet to reſt by an incorporation of of the two Parliaments, it is not reaſonable to expect that the factions will ſurvive, unleſs an ill judged partiality in the ſtate ſhould continue to ſupply them aliment.

The crown is armed with a power of ſelection, which it may exerciſe without creating any particular feeling of irritation. Not ſo the univerſal, and unqualified negative upon an entire people. Whilſt this interdict ſubſiſts, every man, who could form pretenſions to advancement will become hopeleſs, and run into popular courſes. Thoſe who can never riſe under the crown, in all probability

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bability will conduct an oppoſition againſt it. When the Iriſh bar becomes, as probably it will, the body of principal lead, and of moſt influence in the country, what muſt be the conſequence of making every Catholic who ſhall reſort to that profeſſion habitually a democrat?

If the Roman Catholic property of Ireland does not obtain the conſideration it may well expect, no power will retain it in this country. I utter no menace, I ſpeak as an obſerver of the probable courſe of things. If party ſpirit continue to be fed in Ireland, it does not ſtand to reaſon that the obnoxious victims of that ſpirit will remain. At the termination of the preſent troubles, France may not improbably hold out encouragement to emigrate. Are we prepared to meet this drain of population, of induſtry, and of capital? The loſs will not conſiſt of the indolent, who may live any where, but of the very ſoul and ſinews of the country. I put it to the Britiſh government and nation. If it be deſired, by an Union, to make Ireland an uſeful and effective member of the Empire—whatever be our form of Government, let it be well adminiſtered, and let it be framed upon ſuch a ſcale as will admit of equality of political privilege; at leaſt as to the domeſtic regulations within this iſland, I conſider this arrangement indiſpenſible.

The advocates of the excluſive ſyſtem feel, as I do, that it is an unnatural order of things. It cannot meet every man's ſober judgment, that a ſtate, and a free ſtate too, ſhould be kept alive by an irritable jealouſy of its own people. When diſpaſſionate perſons of any deſcription caſt their eyes upon the map of the country, penalties to ſuch an extent will appear odious; precautions of ſo much magnitude, will ſeem impolitic. Doctor Duigenan, in what I conſider the appeal of his faction to the Britiſh people, attempts to meet theſe objections by calumniating

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the ancient and modern character of his country. Whatever miſeries have been inflicted upon this land and people, he vindicates them all.—He, a man of compatriot name, and doubtleſs of kindred progeny!*—He is the apologiſt of Chicheſter, of Cromwell, and of Coote.—He adopts Parſons and Borlace, the Robeſpieres of Ireland. Fugitives from plague, from famine, and from conqueſt, we were received by a cruel code of civil penalties; he glories in the ſufferings of his fellow-citizens; he repines at the ſubſtitution of a milder rule, and ſeizes with malignant joy an opportunity to queſtion its policy. Whoever has laid an exterminating hand on Ireland, finds an abettor in Doctor Duigenan. According to him, "a rancorous hatred of the Engliſh nation and hoſtility to it" exiſted among the natives of this iſland. He aſſerts, that the Catholics of Engliſh blood after the reformation coaleſced with this people, adopted their antipathy, and engaged with them in the deſign of ſeparating from England; that the modern Catholics,, heirs to the calamities of the ancient Iriſh, have inherited, and "do cheriſh this project." Such doctrines would lead to this concluſion; that the Britiſh government can only retain its neceſſary dominion in this iſland, by the ſubjugation of a people, who are not to be reconreconciled. Thus, from a ſenſe of ſelf preſervation, might the government permit, and the people countenance a ſcheme, inconſiſtent with the principles of juſtice that uſually influence the proceedings of the one, and the opinions of the other. To govern by the people is no part of the Britiſh conſtitution; to govern for the people is. A ſtrong caſe indeed muſt be made out, in order to induce our ſiſter-country to ſanction a *government againſt the people*, a wide deviation

* *Cogita aliquando ex quibus ortus es, non quibuſcum vivis.*

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deviation from the maxims, that are written moſt legibly in all her inſtitutions.

To Doctor Duigenan's aſſertion, (page 53) I oppoſe, firſt the authority of Sir John Davies. That eminent lawyer, by birth an Engliſhman, was Attorney General of Ireland, and Speaker in the Parliament held in 1613, by Lord Chicheſter. Having repeatedly officiated as judge of aſſize, and perambulated the different diſtricts of the kingdom in that capacity, no perſon could have a better opportunity of aſcertaining the temper and diſpoſition of the people. He diligently ſtudied the annals of the country; and and he has left the reſult of his remarks in a maſterly treatiſe, " A Diſcovery of the cauſes " why Ireland was never entirely ſubdued, and " brought under the obedience of the Crown of " England, until the beginning of his Majeſty's " (King James 1ſt) reign." Sir John Davies, as a lawyer, was diſtinguiſhed, even in that aſſemblage of eminent men, who in the reign of James adorned the profeſſion. His work is clear, judicious and diſpaſſionate. And if I were engaged in the general hiſtory of Ireland, the temper with which Sir John Davies writes, would very much incline me to diminiſh the heavy weight of ſuſpicion againſt the adminiſtration with which he had acted. Where his teſtimony is favorable to the Iriſh, he is an indiſputable evidence; for ſo little was he connected with the popular intereſt, that his election to the office of Speaker was oppoſed, even with open violence, by the country party in Parliament.

This co-temporary writer, diſcovered no rancorous hatred of the Engliſh name in Ireland. He never once adverts to any ſuch circumſtance. He details the errors in the management of civil and military affairs; " which gave impediment to the reducing of all Ireland, to the obedience and ſubjection of the crown of England."

And

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And after noticing the general ſubmiſſion of all the inhabitants to King James, he concludes with theſe remarkable expreſſions: " In which con-
" dition of ſubjects they will gladly continue,
" without defection or *adhering to any other Lord*
" *or King, as long as they may be protected and*
" *juſtly governed*, without oppreſſion on the one
" ſide, or impunity on the other. For there
" is no nation of people under the ſun that doth
" love equal and *indifferent juſtice better than the*
" *Iriſh*; or will reſt better ſatisfied with the ex-
" ecution thereof, although it be againſt them-
" ſelves, ſo as they may have the protection and
" benefit of the law, when upon juſt cauſe they
" do deſire it." page 213 Diſcovery, &c.

Again, (page 87) Diſcovery of the cauſes, &c.
" But perhaps the Iriſh in former times did
" wilfully refuſe to be ſubject to the laws of
" England, and would not be partakers of the
" benefit thereof, though the crown of England
" did deſire it; and therefore they were reput-
" ed aliens, outlaws and enemies. Aſſuredly
" the contrary doth appear, as well by the
" charters of denization, purchaſed by the Iriſh
" in all ages, as by a petition preferred by them
" to the King, anno 2 Edward the Third, de-
" ſiring that an act might paſs in Ireland, where-
" by all the Iriſh might be enabled to uſe and
" enjoy the laws of England, without purchaſing
" of particular denizations. Upon which peti-
" tion the King directed a ſpecial writ* to the
" Lord Juſtice, which is found amongſt the cloſe-
" rolls in the Tower of London, in this form:
" *Rex dilecto & fideli ſuo Johanni Darci le Nepieu*
" *Juſtic. ſuo Hiberniæ, Salutem. Ex parte quo-*
" *rundum hominum de Hibernia nobis extitit ſup-*
" *plicatum, ut per ſtatutum inde faciendum con-*

* 2. Edw. 3. Clauſ. 17.

" *cederé*

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" *cedere velimus, quod omnes Hibernici qui voluerint, legibus utantur Anglicanis: ita quod neceſſe non habeant ſuper hoc chartas alienas à nobis impetrare: nos igitur certiora volentes ſi ſine alieno praejudicio praemiſſis annuere valeamus, vobis mandamus quod voluntatem magnatum terr. illius in proximo Parliamento noſtro ibidem tenendo ſuper hoc cum diligentia perſcrutari facias: et de eo quod inde inveneritis una cum conſilio et adviſamento nobis certifecitis, &c.*— *Whereby I collect, that the great Lords of Ireland had informed the King that the Iriſh might not be naturalized, without damage and prejudice either to themſelves or to the crown.*"

" But I am well aſſured that the Iriſh deſired to be admitted to the benefit of the law, not only in this petition exhibited to King Edward the Third, but by all their ſubmiſſions made to King Richard the Second, and to the Lord Thomas of Lancaſter, before the the wars of the two houſes; and afterwards to the Lord Leonard Gray, and Sir Anthony St. Leger, when King Henry the Eighth began to reform this kingdom. In particular, the Birnes of the mountains, *in the thirty-fourth of Henry the Eighth, deſire that their country might be made ſhire-ground, and called the county of Wicklow: and in the twenty third of Henry the Eighth, O'Donnel doth covenant with Sir William Skeffington, *Quod ſi Dominus Rex velit reformare Hiberniam*; whereof it ſhould ſeem that he made ſome doubt, that he and his people would gladly be governed by the Laws of England."

Page 90 " The Engliſh laws were not communicated to the Iriſh, nor the benefit and protection thereof allowed unto them, though they earneſtly deſired and ſought the ſame; for as long as they were out of the protection

" of

* The Counſel Book of Ireland, Hen. 8.

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" of the law, ſo as every Engliſhman might op-
" preſs, ſpoil and kill them without controul,
" how was it poſſible they ſhould be other than
" outlaws and enemies to the crown of England?
" when they might not converſe or commerce
" with any civil man, nor enter into any town
" or city, without peril of their lives; whither
" ſhould they fly, but into the woods and
" mountains, and there live in a wild and bar-
" barous manner?"

Page 201, " The truth is, that in time of peace,
" the Iriſh are more fearful to offend the law,
" than the Engliſh, or any other nation what-
" ſoever."

Page 99, " If William had caſt all the Eng-
" liſh out of his protection, and held them as
" aliens and enemies to the crown, the Nor-
" mans (perhaps) might have ſpent as much
" time in the conqueſt of England, as the Eng-
" liſh have ſpent in the conqueſt of Ireland."

Poſſibly my reader may be ſatisfied, that Burk-iſm is not exactly of ſuch modern date, as Dr. Duigenan has repreſented. Lord Minto, if his ſuperior underſtanding had required any aſſiſtance, might have received a leſſon from Sir John Davies, as well as from our illuſtrious countryman.

The ſame diſpaſſionate author (Diſcovery, page 99, 100, 101,) compares the ſettlement of Wales with the neglect of Ireland. " The like pru-
" dent courſe hath been obſerved in reducing of
" Wales; which was performed partly by King
" Henry the Eighth. For we find by the ſtatute
" of Rutland, made the 12th of Edward the
" Firſt, when the Welchmen had ſubmitted
" themſelves, *de alto & baſſo*, to that King, he
" did not reject or caſt them off, as out-laws and
" enemies, but cauſed their laws and cuſtoms to
" be examined, which were in many points
" agreable to the Iriſh or Brehon law. *Quibus*

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" *diligentur auditis & plenius intellectis, quaſdam* " *illarum* (ſays the King in that ordinance) *con-* " *ſilio procerum delevimus; quaſdam permiſſimus;* " *quaſdam correximus; ac etiam quaſdam alias ad-* " *jiciendas et faciendas decrevimus;* and ſo eſtabliſh- " ed a commonwealth among them, according to " the form of the Engliſh government. After this, " by reaſon of the ſundry inſurrections of the " barons, the wars in France, and the diſſenſion " between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, " the ſtate of England neglected or omitted the " execution of this ſtatute of Rutland; ſo as a " great part of Wales grew wild and barbarous " again. And therefore King Henry the Eighth, " by the ſtatutes of the 27th and 32d of his reign, " did revive and recontinue that noble work " began by King Edward the Firſt; and brought " it indeed to full perfection; for he united " the dominion of Wales to the crown of Eng- " land, and divided it into ſhires, and erected " in every ſhire one borough, as in England; " and enabled them to ſend knights and bur- " geſſes to the parliament, eſtabliſh a court " of Preſidency, and ordained that Juſtices of " Aſſize, and Gaol-delivery, ſhould make their " half-yearly circuits there, as in England; " made all the laws and ſtatutes of England, in " force there; and among other Welch cuſtoms, " aboliſhed that of gavel-kind; whereby the " heirs-female were utterly excluded, and the " baſtards did inherit as well as the legitimate, " which is the very Iriſh gavel-kind. By means " whereof, that entire country, in a ſhort time " was ſecurely ſettled in peace and obedience, " and hath attained to that civility of manners, " and plenty of all things, as now we find it, " not inferior to the beſt parts of England."

" I will therefore knit up this point with theſe " concluſions. Firſt, that the Kings of England,

" who

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who in former ages attempted the conqueſt of Ireland, being, *ill-adviſed and counſelled by the great men here*, did not upon the ſubmiſſions of the Iriſh, communicate their laws unto them, nor admit them to the ſtate and condition of free ſubjects. Secondly, that for the ſpace of two hundred years at leaſt, after the firſt arrival of Henry the Second in Ireland, the Iriſh would gladly have embraced the laws of England, and did earneſtly deſire the benefit and protection thereof; which being denied them, did of neceſſity cauſe a continual bordering war between the Engliſh and Iriſh. And laſtly, if according to the examples before recited, they had reduced as well the Iriſh countries as the Engliſh colonies under one form of civil government (as now they are), the meers and bounds of the marches and borders had been long ſince worn out and forgotten."

In the year 1673, Sir William Temple addreſſed to the Earl of Eſſex, Lord Lieutenant, "An eſſay on the advancement of trade in Ireland." Among the cauſes that retarded the improvement of the country, he counts the unſettled ſtate of property; "*The unſteadineſs of the government, changing hands ſo often.*" "*The ſubordinacy of the government, and emulation of parties.*"—"Two great civil wars, and two great plagues that followed them." (Temple's works, vol. 3. Eſſay on the advancement of trade in Ireland.) But in no place does he impute to any part of the Iriſh nation, that diſinclination to the laws and fraternity of England, which in the ſecond century after the ſuppoſed fact, has been detected by the patriotic ſagacity of Dr. Duigenan.

Sir William Petty had riſen under the Regicides and Puritans, (the moſt implacable enemies of the Iriſh) and had participated largely in the confiſcations,

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confiſcations, which took place under their authority; he gives an account of the ſtate of parties within his obſervation, very different from what appears to Doctor Duigenan. "*The people* "*of Ireland are all factions and parties*, called "Engliſh and Iriſh, Proteſtant and Papiſt: *tho'*, "*indeed the real diſtinction is, veſted and diveſted* "*of the land belonging to Papiſts, anno* 1641." Political anatomy of Ireland, page 329. And again, page 330: "The old Proteſtants of Queen "Elizabeth and King James's plantation did not "love the Engliſh who came over ſince 1641." Speaking of the civil war which had then recently terminated, he ſeems to impute a blame to ſome, whom he was prevented by delicacy to name, but whoſe crime had paſſed unpuniſhed. In no place does he utter a hint of antipathy to England. "As for the bloodſhed in the conteſt, God beſt knows who did occaſion it." (page 317) "There were loſt 689,000 ſouls (by "war, baniſhment, and the failure of propagation) "for whoſe blood *ſomebody ſhould anſwer both to* "*God and the King*." (Political Anatomy, page 313) Now it is plain theſe perſons "*who were* "*to anſwer to God and the King*" could have been no part of the Iriſh nation; for they had ſeverely anſwered indeed by the devaſtation of their country, by the moſt cruel perſonal ſufferings, the forfeiture of their land, and exile.

This modern diſcovery had neither enlightened Charles the ſecond, nor the ſtateſmen who during his exile acted under him. Far from diſcovering a diſpoſition to renounce his authority, that prince felt and acknowledged that his Iriſh adherents were the principal ſupport of his intereſt; in his declaration,* he acknowledges that fidel ity

* In the declaration for the ſettlement of Ireland, King Charles admits theſe ſervices, ſee Iriſh ſtat. vol, 2. p. 246 15. char.

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fidelity, which he wanted virtue to requite. A body of Iriſh Catholics under the command of Lord Muſkerry, like the emigrants of Conde in the preſent day, formed an army that adhered inviolably to his fortunes. From King Charles's correſpondence with Lord Clanricarde, it is manifeſt, that during his exile, he made uſe of the attachment of the Iriſh to maintain a diverſion, as the Princes of France do at this moment in La Vendee. (ſee King Charles's letter to the Marquis of Clanricarde, dated 10th February 1652. Memoirs of the Marquis of Clanricarde, page 210. "When you ſhall find it neceſſary "or fit to withdraw yourſelf, we do entirely "leave it to your wiſdom and diſcretion, to "leave ſuch order and direction as you judge "moſt convenient, for the keeping ſuch a war "and contention on foot with the rebels, as "upon any alterations, which it may pleaſe "God to produce in either of our kingdoms, "or upon any acceſs of new force and powers, "(which we ſhall every day labour to procure) "we may be the better able to make an entry "into, and impreſſion upon that our kingdom; "which it were great pity ſhould be conquered, "and totally reduced by ſuch a handful of re-"bels. And without doubt, the keeping up "the war there in any kind, either offenſive or "defenſive, is of the higheſt importance to us "and our ſervice, that can be performed; as "the contrary would be of the greateſt pre-"judice to all our deſigns. And we do like-"wiſe

15 char. 2. ch. ſect 4th. and adds a very curious reaſon for leaving in poſſeſſion the perſons, who had got into the eſtates of his adherents during their common exile. "Our "ſervants," he ſays, "who ſerved us abroad, may the "better wait to be reprized out of other lands, becauſe "they are not furniſhed with ſtock and other proviſion." 2d. vol. Iriſh ſt. page 260.

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" wiſe wholly refer it to your judgment, whe-
" ther before or at your leaving that kingdom,
" or at all, you will think fit to publiſh or make
" any act or declaration againſt thoſe violent
" perſons, who have given ſuch fatal interrup-
" tion to the welfare and union of that nation,
" whereby they might have been able to have
" oppoſed the common enemy; and who have
" always behaved themſelves with ſuch diſobe-
" dience and contempt towards us, and our au-
" thority; and who ſtill labour to get it believed
" in the world, that they are and have been the
" only perſons, who have any care of the Ca-
" tholick religion within that our kingdom."

King Charles in his letter to the Duke of Lor-rain, entreating aſſiſtance for the Iriſh then in arms, ſays, " The miſeries and calamities which " have almoſt overwhelmed that kingdom, can " hardly be expreſſed, which in a ſhort time, " if ſome reaſonable and very timely ſupply " and aſſiſtance be not applied to ſtop the ſuc-" ceſs of *our Engliſh rebels* there, muſt proba-" bly be concluded in the utter extirpation of " that nation." And again, ſpeaking of the of-fer of a qualified ſubmiſſion to the Duke, which had been made by Lord Taaſe, Mr. Browne and Sir Nicholas Plunkett; he ſays, " Nor do we " too ſeverely interpret even thoſe offers, but do " believe that they proceeded, rather from the " ſmart, anguiſh and deſpair thoſe gen-" tlemen felt from the languiſhing and gaſping " condition of their miſerable country." King Charles's letter to the Duke of Lorrain, dated 6th February 1652—Memoirs of Lord Clanricarde.

It is very evident, that from the firſt ſettle-ment of the Engliſh, to the reign of James 1ſt, the Iriſh were a diſtinct people, as the Scotch were before the Union of the Crowns, and the Welch before the reduction of that principality.

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The King of England claimed, in right of the submission to Henry II. a feudal sovereignty over the Irish; he received from them the homage not of subjects, but of vassals;—his writs did not run;—his laws were not received;—his protection was not extended. The people were left to their own rule of descent, their own magistrates and customs. King Henry II. seems to have received and considered O'Connor in the same light that King Edward did John Baliol; as a feudatory Prince, vassal of the King, but Sovereign in respect to his own subjects. The form* of treaty between them, abundantly ascertains this fact. And unless we recur to the nature and principles of the feudal submission, it will be unintelligible that such armies as were levied and sent into Ireland, and such extensive preparations should be constantly dissipated, as history testifies, upon the renewal of those loose acknowledgments. In those times feudal submission was the pride of conquest; the Princes who fitted out these expeditions against Ireland, came to assert the right and punish the subtraction of feudal duties. The right being recognized and the duties satisfied, they were contented and proceeded no farther. So late as the reign of of Henry VIII. Abbè Geoghegan relates, I do not now recollect from what authority, that Fitzpatrick, an Irish Chief, made a denunciation to King Henry, threatening hostility, unless the King would restrain the injuries of his subject, Pierce Earl of Ormonde. *Misit me*, exclaimed abruptly an uncouth herald to this sovereign, *Dominus meus, Mac Phadric, ad te, Dominum regem, tibi*

* Hic est finis et concordia, inter dominum Regem Angliæ, Henricum filium Imperatricis, & Rodericum Regem Conatiæ scilicet, quod Rex Angliæ concessit prædicto Roderico, ligeo homini suo, ut *sit Rex subeo*, ut homo suus &c. the very words of feudal recognition.

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tibi dicere quod nisi, &c. From this denunciation it would appear, that Fitzpatrick considered himself to stand to Henry in a different relation from the Earl of Ormonde; and that both the Chief, and his Ambassador, held Fitzpatrick to be in rank inferior to King Henry, *misit me dominus meus*, without affecting equality, *ad te dominum regem.*—Another instance of an Irish Chief asserting a rank above the condition of a subject occurs in Camden. O'Rourke, having been delivered up by the Scotch, was arraigned for treason at Westminster. He refused with indignation the jurisdiction of the court of King's bench, exclaiming in his native tongue, the only language with which he was conversant, "that "their judges and jurors were not *his Peers*; that "if O'Rourke was to account for his conduct, "the Queen herself should be his arbitress." The unfortunate Chief was executed, by laws he did not understand, for a breach of allegiance he imperfectly acknowledged. We may also observe that in the former treaty with Roderic O'Connor, the stile *Dominus* is applied solely to the King of England, the superior or liege Lord. But Henry nevertheless, in the granting and confirming part of the deed, repeats his stile King of England, not King exclusively, as between Sovereign and subject. And the entire treaty bears evidence, of a royal grantee, as well as a royal grantor.

Sir John Davies recites many cases, in which the plea of alien enemy, was admitted in the King's courts, to bar the action of aboriginal Irishmen.

Under these circumstances of separate nations established in Ireland, and of independent jurisdictions, with various tribes of martial people, native Irish, and English adventurers, the latter often encroaching, the former defending their possession,

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poſſeſſion, hoſtilities were frequent. But amongſt themſelves neither the Engliſh families, nor the Iriſh ſepts lived in amity; this wretched ſtate of manners was not peculiar to Ireland. Scotland had her wars of the High and Low-landers. We commemorate ſtill the martial encounters of the Scotch and Engliſh chivalry in the bordering wars. We find no cauſe for eternal antipathy in the conflicts of the ancient Marchers with the Welch. We glow without reſentment at the vigorous reſiſtance of Glendower. If our Deſmond and our O'Neile, in the pride of noble birth and ample poſſeſſions, preſumed to arrogate royal honors; England had her Neville, and the claſſic turbulence of gallant Hotſpur; of him whoſe honour

> ——— Struck upon him as the Sun,
> In the grey vault of Heaven: and by his light
> Did all the chivalry of England move
> To do brave acts. ———

But the chiefs of Ireland fell, and with them fell the language, which ought to have preſerved the achievements, that palliated their indiſcretion; and with them fell the pride of origin, which would point with admiration to the deeds, that new relations, manners and principles of order, inſtruct us not to imitate. A ſingle bard (Carolan) has ſurvived the wreck of ancient genius. A few airs atteſt the character of the people who took delight in them; vigorous and bold, but ſoftening, when the occaſion calls, to tender and generous ſenſibility. Had more ample memorials remained, our Chevy-chace might have rehearſed the valour of a Giraldine, or an O'Neil; our Owen of Carron have reproached the "crimſon" banners, and curſed the "ruthleſs" victories of Cromwell. I cannot abandon lightly theſe "rough, rug-headed Kerns." But ſuch thoughts are treaſon againſt the irritability of

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modern Ireland. There are men who if the beautiful effuſions of Gray's muſe were applied to this country, would conſign them to a public proſecution. But I return to my poſition. The eccentric temper and looſe allegiance of theſe ages account, without any additional circumſtance, for the violence to which they were prone. They are not to be judged by our notions of regular and ſettled government.

It would have indeed been ſomewhat ſanguine to expect, that Ireland, eminently feeble and diſtracted, ſhould be exempt from the calamities, which the impotence of authority produced in other countries.—What was the ſtate of France, of Scotland, of England herſelf, from the time of Henry II. to Elizabeth, the firſt period of our hiſtory? Cotemporary with the inſurrection of Deſmond and Tyrone, which ended in the extermination of theſe noble houſes, were the war of the league in France, the religious wars of Germany, the revolt of Scotland againſt the unfortunate Mary, and of Flanders againſt King Philip. Then to what does Dr. Duigenan's firſt poſition amount?—Truly to this, that, as a penalty for having been diſturbed, when all other nations were equally ſo, we ſhould be condemned for ever to the miſeries inſeperable from a ſtate, in which the government and the people are at variance. In the name of God, why ſhould not the South of Trent make laws againſt the North, and both legiſlate by the ſame rule againſt Wales and Scotland?

"From ſuch confederacy," ſays Doctor Duigenan, "cemented by bigotry and inflamed "by religious fury againſt their fellow-ſubjects, "ſprang Deſmond's and Tyrone's rebellions in "the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the horrible "rebellion and maſſacre in that of Charles 1ſt, "and the obſtinate and deſtructive rebellion in "the

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" the reign of William and Mary."—Repreſentation, page 53.

Now Sir John Davies expreſsly ſtates, that the rebellion of the Earl of Deſmond, originated in a claim, ſet up by that family, and diſputed by the government, of exemption from attendance on parliament; but that the immediate cauſe of the riſing was, an attempt by that Earl to levy certain Iriſh duties in the county of Waterford, contrary to ſtatute of Kilkenny, in which attempt he was ſucceſsfully oppoſed by the Earl of Ormonde.

I ſhould have little difficulty in convincing any man, who will take the trouble to read Lee's Memorial to Queen Elizabeth, that religion had no influence in Tyrone's rebellion. Indeed that officer ſtates, that he was more docile to the reformation than moſt other nobles, even of Engliſh birth in Ireland. " True," ſays my author," " he is affected to popery, but leſs than " ſome of the greateſt in the Engliſh pale: for " when he is with the ſtate, he will accompany " the Lord Deputy to the church, and will ſtay, " and hear ſervice and return." We can collect from the ſtatement of that officer, which amounts in fact to articles of impeachment againſt the Haſtings of thoſe days, the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliams, that the ſtate of Ireland in his time, reſembled what India was before the modern corrections in its adminiſtration. Adventurers equipped themſelves, as for a deſperate enterprize, to ſeek fortune in Ireland. In the proſecution of their purpoſe it will readily be believed, that rapacity and violence were not unfrequent. The public faith was ſhamefully diſregarded. Men of peaceable and inoffenſive life, were impriſoned without cauſe, and executed without the pretence or the form of juſtice. He adverts to particular inſtances,

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ees, which when he prepared his Memorial, muſt have been familiar, of perſons put to death by the connivance of the government, whoſe only crime was the wealth, which their enemies divided. Lee offers to ſubſtantiate his charge by evidence, and ſtakes his life and credit on the event. Of Tyrone he ſpeaks as an oppreſſed and injured man, haraſſed by unmerited ſuſpicion. He names him with the kindneſs of a friend, but in ſuch manner as to prove, that in his breaſt the duty of public ſervice prevailed above private ſentiments. Lee's detail of facts explains and ſtrengthens the opinions of Davies; ſee "A "brief declaration of the government of Ireland, "opening many corruptions in the ſame, diſ- "covering the diſcontents of the Iriſhry, &c. "addreſſed to the Queen's moſt excellent Ma- "jeſty, by Captain Thomas Lee, 1594."— Capt. Lee, I anſwer for it, was a Burkiſt.—

Our annals retain no panegyric of a routed cauſe and fallen greatneſs; but it is eaſy to collect, that the Iriſh chief of whom we treat, was no ordinary perſon. O'Neil, for in the pride of ſuperior ſtation, he ſpurned the ſtile of Earl, inherited from an illuſtrious line the command of one of the braveſt, the moſt numerous, and the moſt powerful ſepts among the ancient Iriſh. His juriſdiction was abſolute, over a wide extent of territory and a numerous hoſt of martial followers. Supreme within his own limits, he acknowledged in the Britiſh Sovereign an external ſuperior, to whom he owed, as a vaſſal to his paramount, homage, reverence, and tribute. From this condition the aſcent is eaſy, a ſingle ſtep, to actual independence; and when the provocations received by himſelf, and by his race, impelled O'Neil to fly to arms, I ſhould have been much ſurprized, if he had not endeavoured to aſſociate the public ſervice with his immediate

and

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and natural ambition. He aſpired to what he conſidered the deliverance of his country from a foreign yoke. For, altho' it is vain and prepoſterous in the preſent ſtate of mixed races, to treat any portion of our Empire, as foreign to its fellow-ſubjects of another diſtrict, yet the difference of all thoſe things, that diſcriminate race from race, and nation from nation, laws, manners, cuſtoms, blood and language, was, at the period we review, both prevalent and obvious. Wallace, two centuries before, had atchieved the like enterprize on a contigious theatre with glory, but not with ultimate advantage to his country. The triumph of Wallace poſtponed the Union of the Britiſh crowns, as it aſſuredly retarded the perfection of civil arts, and the cultivation of the entire iſland.

O'Neil, when his diſcontents were at the height, found a ready co-operation in a great proportion of the Iriſh chiefs, eſtranged, like him from the Engliſh crown, by the impolitic ſyſtem of government, and the profligate ſeverity of particular governors. I do not find that he derived from the religious opinions of the people any eminent aſſiſtance. The pale, which as Lee teſtifies, was more Catholic than himſelf, never afforded any countenance to his enterprize.* In fact the ſubjects of this land, had not as yet experienced any inconvenience on this account; for altho' the ſtate adopted for its own uſe, the practice of the reformed religion, the ſecond of Elizabeth, the great grievance of the next age, had not as yet been put in execution. This war of O'Neil was the laſt and

* On the contrary, the army which Lord Mountjoy led againſt O'Neil, and which compelled his ſubmiſſion, was almoſt totally compoſed of Catholics

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and moſt vigorous ſtand made by the ancient Iriſh for their independence. That it deſolated the country I admit; but in this, as in the ſubſequent conflicts, the balance of ſeverity was with the victors. The commander himſelf had been poliſhed at the court, and had followed arms in the camps of England: his ſenſe of dignity, was far ſuperior to that of the officers,* who often oppoſed him. In the ſervice of England, he had been a faithful and valiant auxiliary. He became a formidable, but a generous enemy. He ſubmitted to Lord Mountjoy, but having reaſon to apprehend, that new deſigns againſt his ſafety were formed by a ſubſequent Viceroy, he fled to Spain, where his family hold to the preſent day a high rank among the moſt eminent and honored of the nobility. The popular traditions of Ireland long remembered the fame, and deplored the fortunes, of this its laſt and favorite leader.

The cataſtrophe of O'Neil, and the diſcomfiture of his adherents, removed every obſtacle to the reduction of Ireland: our hiſtory no longer preſents any other relation but ſovereign and ſubject

* He was indeed oppoſed by the Earl of Eſſex, who ſeems to have treated him with conſiderable attention. The terms which he procured from Lord Mountjoy, on his ſubmiſſion, prove, that he was conſidered by that nobleman, as an able and powerful adverſary.

† To this Earl of Tyrone, may be applied, what the Scotch poet, Pitcairn, ſays of Lord Dundee ——

Te moriente novas accepit Scotia leges,
Accepitque novos, te moriente Deos.*
Illa tibi ſupereſſe nequit, nec tu potes illa
Ergo, Caledonia, nomen inane, vale.
Tuque vale, gentis quondam fortiſſime ductor,
Ultime Scotorum, atque ultime Græme, vale.

* Alluding to the abolition of epiſcopacy at the Revolution.

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ſubject. The noble Iriſh wolf-dog had been injured; he howled, and they ſlew him for his melancholy tone. But the party-coloured animal that ſeized upon his ſkin, fancied itſelf inveſted with the ſame high pretenſions, and no leſs inceſſantly growled againſt Great Britain. Following the thread of Iriſh affairs, we ſhall learn if the new proprietors were more docile than the ancient. Although the modern poſſeſſors of Ireland owe to the ſiſter nation a debt of gratitude, with which the former were not burthened, yet theſe, whether of Iriſh race, or of the pale, never demanded more than the protection of their properties, and indulgence to the religion in which they were educated. The poſterity of thoſe, who were planted in Ireland, by William, James, Elizabeth and Cromwell, have repeatedly brought into debate, the very terms and eſſence of the connexion.

TO BE CONTINUED IN A SECOND PUBLICATION.

ERROR—In page 26, line 4, *for* " by means of their property," *read* " by the abolition of excluſive ſtatutes."

—— Page 25, line 4 from bottom, *for* " Political Eſſay," *read* " Tritical Eſſay."

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APPENDIX.

I SHALL here, in teſtimony of Doctor Duigenan's marked diſingenouſneſs, inſert the teſt oath, which the Catholics take, and alſo that, which he inſerts as rejected by them. The Catholics refuſe to renounce the Pope's ſpiritual ſupremacy, from whence Doctor Duigenan infers, contrary *to what he knows to be fact*, that they equally refuſe to abjure the temporal ſupremacy of the Pope, his depoſing and diſpenſing power, and the murderous doctrine charged in the oath of ſupremacy,

Doctor Duigenan, p. 12, ſays, " It will be neceſſary " to inſert here, the *oath* " *of ſupremacy, which all* " *Romaniſts refuſe abſolutely* " *to take, and have done ſo* " *ſince the firſt framing of it.*

" The oath of ſupremacy is as follows:

" I—— do ſwear, that " I do from my heart abhor, deteſt, and abjure, " as impious and heretical, " that damnable doctrine " and poſition, that Princes " excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or " any authority of the See

The oath preſcribed by the ſtat. 33d of the King, to be taken by the Catholics, is as follows:——(Doctor Duigenan propoſed this teſt in Parliament, the Catholic clergy ſanctioned it with their approbation, and the laity adopted it.)

" I *A. B.* do hereby " declare, that I do profeſs the Roman Caholick " religion. I *A, B.* do " ſwear, that I do abjure " condemn and deteſt as " unchriſtian and impious, " the principle that it is " lawful to murder deſtroy,

or

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" of Rome, may be depoſed " any ways injure any per-
" or murdered by their " ſon whatſoever, for, or
" ſubjects, or by any other " under the pretence of
" perſon whatſoever: and " being a heretic; and I
" I do declare, that no fo- " do declare ſolemnly be-
" reign Prince, Prelate, " fore God, that I believe
" State, or Potentate, hath " that no act in itſelf un-
" or ought to have, any " juſt, immoral or wicked,
" juriſdiction, power, ſu- " can ever be juſtified or
" periority, pre-eminence, " excuſed by, or under
" or authority, eccleſiaſtical " pretence or colour, that
" or ſpiritual within this " it was done either for
" realm. So help me God." " the good of the church,
" or in obedience to any
" eccleſiaſtical power whatſoever. I alſo de-
" clare, that it is not an article of the Catholic
" faith, neither am I thereby required to believe
" or profeſs that the Pope is infallible, or that I
" am bound to obey any order in its own nature
" immoral, though the Pope or any Eccleſiaſti-
" cal power ſhould iſſue or direct ſuch order, but
" on the contrary, I hold, that it would be ſinful
" in me to pay any reſpect or obedience thereto;
" I further declare, that I do not believe that any
" ſin whatſoever, committed by me, can be for-
" given at the mere will of any Pope, or of any
" Prieſt, or of any perſon or perſons whatſoever,
" but that ſincere ſorrow for paſt ſins, a firm and
" ſincere reſolution to avoid future guilt, and to
" atone to God, are previous and indiſpenſable
" requiſites to eſtabliſh a well-founded expectation
" of forgiveneſs; and that any perſon who ex-
" pects abſolution without theſe previous requi-
" ſites, ſo far from obtaining thereby any remiſ-
" ſion of ſins, incurs the additional guilt of vio-
" lating a ſacrament; and I do ſwear that I will
" defend to the utmoſt of my power, the ſettle-
" ment and arrangement of property in this coun-
" try as eſtabliſhed by the laws now in being; I
" do hereby diſclaim, diſavow, and ſolemnly ab-
" jure

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" jure any intention to ſubvert the preſent church
" eſtabliſhment, for the purpoſe of ſubſtituting a
" Catholic eſtabliſhment in its ſtead; and I do ſo-
" lemnly ſwear, that I will not exerciſe any pri-
" vilege to which I am or may become entitled,
" to diſturb and weaken the Proteſtant religion
" and Proteſtant government of this kingdom.
" So help me God."

The following note was by accident omitted in its proper place, page 36.

The preſent anarchy of France cannot be eternal. That country will come to a ſettlement, probably under the ancient line of its monarchs; but in whatever form it ſettles, doubtleſs France will be a more eligible reſidence than Ireland, unleſs means be deviſed of putting an end to the factions that now diſtract this nation. It is impoſſible that Ireland ſhould be made to proſper, unleſs government be carried on, ſomewhat more than it hitherto has been, in conformity to the genius of the people.

What may be the effect of emigration thoſe will witneſs who recollect how much both of capital and active ſpirit was withdrawn from Ireland to foreign countries by the expatriation both of families and individuals, down to the year 1778. Mr. Dobbs, an Iriſh Member of Parliament, who wrote in the year 1729, attributes the loſs of the woollen manufacture, principally, to the number of Catholics who paſſed to Spain, immediately on the enacting the Popery Laws.—*Dobbs on the Trade of Ireland.*

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MISCONCEPTIONS OF FACTS,

AND

MISTATEMENTS

OF

THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS,

BY

THE RIGHT HON. JOHN FOSTER,

SPEAKER

OF

The Iriſh Houſe of Commons,

PROVED & CORRECTED

ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

AND AUTHENTIC EVIDENCE OF

THE INSPECTOR GENERAL OF GREAT BRITAIN.

IN

A LETTER TO WM. JOHNSON, ESQ.

Member of the Iriſh Parliament,

FROM THE REV. DR. CLARKE,

SECRETARY FOR THE LIBRARY, AND CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

—DUBLIN:—

PRINTED FOR J. MILLIKEN, 32, GRAFTON STREET.

1800.

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MISCONCEPTIONS OF FACTS,

AND

MISTATEMENTS

OF

THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS,

&c. &c. &c.

My Dear Sir,

IN order to give vigor to the Laws, power to the Rights, increaſe to the Commerce, improvement to the Morals, and ſecurity to the Property and Lives of our Fellow-Subjects, your efforts have not been wanting, through ſupport of an Union.* To be connected with you, in ſuch things, is a public ſatisfaction, to which my mind is not inſenſible.

Far be it from me, however, while I value your opinions, to depreciate wantonly, thoſe of other men. The judgments of ignorance ſhould rather be ſhaken off in ſilence; or let to fall of their own accord, like dew drops from the lion's mane. But there are opinions which claim notice, becauſe they derive authority from the rank of their author. Falling from on high they make impreſſion, and uttered in places of great conſequence, they come forth with importance. Mr. Foſter's ſpeech in the Parliament of Ireland is of this caſt.

* See Mr. Johnſon's "Letter to Mr. Spencer, on the "Union": alſo, his "Reaſons for an Union."

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It is now before the Britiſh public, after having been corrected by himſelf;* and conſequently, it reſts with every man here to embrace thoſe truths, or confute thoſe errors, which Mr. Foſter would impreſs upon us, while he inſtructs us on a meaſure of ſuch magnitude to the empire. I feel myſelf, however, particularly called upon to do juſtice to myſelf, without arrogating a claim to any thing, except what the ſimpleſt humility cannot ſurrender—truth. Becauſe, if thoſe repreſentations of Mr. Foſter's on the commerce of Ireland be true,—mine, which I have given under the ſanction of official documents, muſt be falſe.

In order, therefore, to judge juſtly upon whoſe ſide the errors lie, the ſame authority ſhall be reſorted to, which Mr. Foſter quotes to accredit his aſſertions: I mean that of Mr. Irving, Inſpector General of the imports and exports of Great Britain. And, according to this evidence, I commit the buſineſs to the juſt tribunal of public deciſion.

The official accounts given into Parliament by Mr. Irving, will appear, however, to have been groſly, I do not ſay wilfully, miſtated by Mr. Foſter. And the great end or concluſions which this perverſion of the public accounts goes to eſtabliſh is:—firſt; the trade of Ireland affords ſuch advantages to Britain, that all apprehenſions of being deprived of it, in caſe an Union be rejected, are idle on the part of Ireland.

The next propoſition which Mr. Foſter's arguments preſent againſt an Union is one that is founded on an aſſumption of facts, or of things as facts, but which have no exiſtence. And the end or conſequence aimed at, through this aſſumption is—that all extenſion of the commerce of Ireland, in the eſtabliſhment or participation of the great articles of Britiſh manufacture, in conſequence of an Union, is radically impoſſible.

* According to the Publiſher's advertiſement in the Newſpapers.

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To these two heads or questions, all that Mr. Foster's book contains on commerce may be reduced; one of which tells the Irish they cannot lose their trade, if they refuse an Union; and the other, that they cannot extend it, if they embrace an Union—*therefore, let them reject it.* But we shall find his conclusions presently crumble all about him.

However, though his edifice be pulled down to the foundation, I do not mean that he should be hurt, by a single stone of the ruin. I therefore premise, through respect for even Mr. Foster's erroneous opinions, that his mistatements, I doubt not, have arisen from misconceptions. For that must be called a misconception, which differs, unintentionally, from the reality of things. That must also be called a misconception, when any person, (as I shall shew Mr. Foster, has done) gives two different opinions upon one and the same point. And that must be called a mistatement, where a man swerves from the fair official accounts, which he tells you are his authority: and tells you, that he quotes them *accurately*, while he shifts the sums, and shifts the denominations.

Now let us consider, in detail, those misconceptions and mistatements.

First Point.—*Does the trade of Ireland afford such advantages to Britain, that all apprehensions of being deprived of it, are idle on the part of Ireland?*

The reverse of this is demonstrated by the Inspector General's accounts, as clearly as arithmetical evidence can do, and as incontrovertibly, as any mathematical proof whatever. These accounts fairly and obviously shew that the trade is infinitely more beneficial to Ireland, than to Britain: the same accounts, therefore, cannot prove the direct contrary, as Mr. Foster says he makes them do, but by great perversion. Let us examine this.

In the trade of raw articles, which are certainly of the first consequence, because, being the materials of manufacture, we

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may call them the elements of induſtry, Mr. Foſter ſtates, (p. 80. of his ſpeech publiſhed here) that there is a "balance of ſupply to GreatBritain" of nearly *two millions and an half:* (See Table A.)—If this were really the caſe, and the trade in fact ſo advantageous to Great Britain, I muſt agree with any man that there were little danger of Ireland's being deprived of it. I find, however, by the Inſpector General's accounts, that inſtead of this "balance of ſupply to Britain," this part of the trade is moſt indiſputably a *Loſs* to her, by a balance of above *three hundred thouſand pounds:* (See Table B.) So that, in fact, *Mr. Foſter's account*, is TWO MILLIONS and SEVEN HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS, wide of the reality. Does the trade appear thus to preponderate with benefits to Britain?

This miſtatement ariſes from a miſconception, in calling articles raw materials, which in reality, are not ſuch; nor are they conſidered, or ſtated as ſuch in the official acconnts. Raw aricles are materials which may be wrought into manufactures, and produced in another form. Hides, for inſtance, are raw materials, becauſe they are produced in another form, which we call leather: but beef, butter, and proviſions, enter into commerce only as ſuch, and in no *other* ſhape. Mr. Foſter, however, reckons on Iriſh *proviſions* as *raw* articles, by which, he *ſwells* one account; and he counts on Engliſh *proviſions*, cod, ling, herrings &c. as *manufactured* articles, by which he *diminiſhes* the other. And again, he calls *Iriſh linen yarn* a raw material; but he counts on *Engliſh cotton yarn* as manufactured goods: yet Mr. Foſter tells us—"I have detailed theſe ſtatements accurately from the printed Reports."

However, that we may not be deceived by names of things, or be led aſtray by a partial view in *one* branch of our trade, let us examine the whole products, both *raw* and *manufactured* of the two countries.

We find on inſpecting the public accounts referred to by Mr Foſter, that, on calculating the trade carried on between the

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two countries, with their *repective Products and Manufactures*, Ireland gains a balance of almoſt THREE MILLIONS AND AN HALF *yearly*. (See Table C.) Here again, then, the trade does not preponderate with benefits to Britain.

Now let us take another view of the trade, as to *all* the *imports* and *exports* of the two countries: and what dowe perceive? We find on a fair view given in the public accounts, that there is a balance, on the *general Import and Export trade*, in favor of Ireland, amounting to above TWO MILLIONS GAIN ANNUALLY: (See Table D.)—Here again then, with above *two millions* loſs before our eyes, the trade does not preponderate with benefits to Britain.

Further, that we may conſider the trade in every poſſible ſhape, in order to arrive at the whole truth, let us examine the *entire trade, revenues*, and *bounties*. And what is the reſult? It is proved by the public accounts, that Ireland is a gainer, by a balance of above TWO MILLIONS SEVEN HUNDRED and SEVENTY SEVEN THOUSAND POUNDS ANNUALLY. (See Table E.) Now I aſk, in every view of this trade, how does it appear according to the official accounts of the Inſpector General, that the advantages are, (as Mr. Foſter aſſerts,) "*more on the ſide of Britain—and certainly ſo much ſo, as to put an end to all the fooliſh threats which have been made, particularly as to our linen trade depending wholly on Britiſh bounty, and Britiſh diſcretion.*"

As to the latter part of this aſſertion on bounties, we ſhall ſoon ſift the truth.

But as to the commerce of the two countries, Mr. Foſter cannot make it appear, that the balance is "*ſo much on the ſide of Britain,*" and the *exceſs of gain prodigious.*"—It is utterly impoſſible, according to the official documents. And therefore, his concluſion againſt an Union falls to the ground, becauſe he has built it on miſtatements which exhibit ſuch a perverſion of the Public Accounts, as could originate only, I do conceive, in miſconception.

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I now come to the linen trade. And here again I find Mr. Foſter deep in errors. Some lines back I quoted his aſſertion, relative to the linen trade *not depending* on Britiſh *Bounties*, or Britiſh *diſcretion*. And, in page 84, he remarks on bounties, " when their operation is boaſted of by Mr. Pitt, as " having raiſed our manufacture to its preſent height, he " *forgets the fact*. They took place in 1743, and operated " as the REPORT" (of the Board of Trade) " I have men- " tioned ſtated, as TWELVE per cent on *Britiſh*, and SIX " and an HALF per cent on Iriſh; the remaining five and an " half compenſating the charges of freight, commiſſion, &c. " from Ireland to Britain."

Here, you obſerve, it is ſtated by Mr. Foſter that, while the bounty on Britiſh Linens is eſtimated at *twelve* per cent, the bounty on Iriſh Linens is eſtimated at *ſix and an half*: and, therefore, according to *his Report* of the Board of Trade, *Britain* has an advantage over the *Iriſh* exporter, equal to five and an half per cent. Now, remark the words of the Report, as they ſtand preciſely in the *paſſage alluded to* by Mr. Foſter. " IRELAND will be able to export this article under the new opening given to her trade, to *an advantage* over the *Engliſh* exporter equal to *five and an half per cent.*"* Thus, therefore, you ſee a direct contradiction to what Mr. Foſter puts before you as the ſtatement of the Board of Trade.

I ſhall here explain this matter:—Britain pays twelve per cent. bounty to Iriſh Linens exported from this country: but the Britiſh Merchant, who exports thoſe Iriſh Linens, is at a charge of five and an half per cent. in Britain, for warehouſing, &c. &c. before he can export them: whereas, the bounty being the ſame in Ireland as in Britain, and the *Iriſh* merchant not having *this* expenſe which the *Britiſh* merchant has here, the Iriſh one, therefore, has *ſo* much advan-

* Copy of the Report of the Lords Commiſſioners, contained in the Accounts laid before the Houſe of Lords, Feb. 22, 1799.——See page 16, paragraph 2.

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tage (or five and a half per cent.) over the Britiſh exporter. So that Mr. Foſter turns the *Britiſh* exporter into an *Iriſh* exporter. The former may be called an exporter of Iriſh linens; but thoſe *Iriſh* linens receive twelve per cent. bounty.—Can Mr. Foſter deny this? Can he deny that Britain favours Iriſh linens imported by a protecting duty, alſo, equal to twenty-five* per cent.? Whereas all other linens imported, pay this twenty-five per cent.: and all other linens beſides Britiſh, exported, pay about ſix per cent.—Conſequently, there is an equality of *export bounty* paid by Britain to *Iriſh* and *Britiſh* linens; there is an advantage of five and an half per cent. bounty, in favour of direct exportation from Ireland, *againſt Britain*; there is twenty-five per cent. in favour of Ireland, over *foreign* linens imported; and, if we add twelve per cent. bounty, paid to Iriſh linens exported, to ſix per cent. duty paid by *Foreign* linens exported, it makes *eighteen per cent.* in favour of the Iriſh exports. How, then, can Mr. Foſter ſay, that, where there is *ſuch* ſupport, there is not *dependence*—and ſuch *voluntary* ſupport, there is not *diſcretion?* Cannot the Britiſh Parliament take away this ſupport of bounties and protecting duties from the Iriſh linens? If ſo, it is diſcretionary.—And is not this ſupport of bounties and protecting duties, neceſſary to the Iriſh Trade? If ſo, it is dependent. But the fact of dependence ſhall be further eſtabliſhed:——Let us conſider, therefore, the operation of the *Bounties*.

Mr. Foſter remarked, as we quoted before, that "when "their operation is boaſted of by Mr. Pitt, as having raiſed "our manufactures, he *forgets the fact.*" In order to overturn this aſſertion, we ſhall appeal again to that high and "*deciſive evidence*," to which Mr. Foſter himſelf refers us

* Mr. Foſter fairly ſtates according to the Public Accounts, at 33*l.* 6s. 8d. but it ſhould be 25*l.* per cent.

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more than once: I mean that of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

According to the Report of those Lords of Trade, I find, (page 14) that the Import of Irish Linens into Great Britain increased, between the years 1743 and 1773, from six millions, to seventeen millions of yards. But the increase of Irish linen, *exported* under favour of British Bounty, far exceeded in proportion the *import* during the same space. The quantities exported were, in 1743, above forty thousand yards; and, in 1773, above two millions of yards. The increase in *Import*, therefore, was nearly from *one* to *three*; and the increase in *Export* nearly *from one to seventy*.* Thus, we have the fact of increase clearly and undeniably established. Now, the next fact to be ascertained, is, upon what did this *increase depend?* According to the very same evidence, the Board of Trade, it depended upon the operation of Bounties. Their words are,—(Page 14: paragraph 4)—"This increase may be attributed to *Bounties and Duties.*"

That a Report of a Board of the Lords of Trade is "decisive evidence," every man must agree with Mr. Foster; and, without meaning any disrespect to this gentleman, I certainly conceive them more competent, and more likely to be impartial on this point, than Mr. Foster, or any man circumstanced as he is. And, therefore, according to *their* judgment, and *their* testimony, I must believe that Mr. Foster either misconceived, and therefore misstated, or else—forgot the fact.

Beside, since it is to their Report he applies on different points of the linen trade, he cannot consequently resist the testimony of that Report, strongly and evidently confuting

* But if we mark the proportion of increase up to 1799—in IMPORTS, it is from one to six, and in EXPORTS from one, to one hundred and fifty: The number of yards in the former increase, was from six, to thirty-seven millions; and the latter from forty thousand, to six millions.

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him, and directly confirming the opinion of Mr. Pitt—that the linen manufactures of Ireland *have* flourished upon British bounties. But if he should still have any doubt on the bounties being *discretionary*, I trust I shall remove it soon by his own evidence, and by the further corroboration of the Lords of Trade. And, as their Report was made in 1780, and not under the present Administration, or present circumstances, no objection can be taken to the nature or substance of what Mr. Foster properly calls "decisive evidence."

What however will Mr. Foster say to his own evidence, when *he* bore testimony to Irish linens *depending* on British *Bounties* and British *Discretion*? His words were,* "as to Bounties, "Britain almost ruined *our* manufacture of *sail-cloth*, by "bounties on export of *her own* to Ireland. In 1750, or "thereabouts, when *her* Bounty commenced, *we ex-* "*ported more* than we *imported*; and, in 1784, *we exported* "NONE, and *imported* 180,000 yards." Such, then, is Mr. Foster's statement of *facts*, which confirm the *total dependence* of one branch, and consequently of another, of the Irish linen manufacture on British bounties, and British discretion. For, by changing the bounty, the manufacture was utterly destroyed in Ireland, and secured to Britain. Let him say again, *who* "forgot the fact" of the operation of British bounties?

After misstating (page 84,) the *Report*, as I have pointed out, relative to bounties, he proceeds, and says, "by this "*unequal* encouragement, the export of British bounty "linens rose, &c. &c." You will remark, that the system of Bounties to which he attributed *unequal* encouragement toward Ireland, is what the Board of Trade stated expressly to afford "*advantage* in *favour* of Ireland, equal to "five and an half per cent.†" Now, what says the Board

* Woodfall's Report (page 110) of the Irish Debate on the Propositions in 1785.

† The Reader will have seen before, according to the testimony of the Lords of Trade (Report: p. 16, paragraph 2),

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further on this unequal encouragement?—Calculating its *ſucceſs* in various manners, they ſtate (page 16, par. 4) "*ſo* "*far* will it operate to the diminution of Britiſh export "trade, to the diminution alſo of the returns for that "trade, and conſequently to the prejudice of our naviga- "tion, and of the commercial intereſts in general," (and they add further, page 18, paragraph 1) "by all the colla- "teral conſequences of a proportionable *tranſfer* of our "navigation, and *general commerce* to the *ports of Ireland.*"

With ſuch words before him, and from ſuch authority, ſolemnly ſtating to the Lords of Council the diſadvantages to Britain in *favour* of Ireland, ariſing from the *export bounty ſyſtem*, it is ſtrange that he could call ſuch "advan- "tages" *unequal* encouragement, and reſt his aſſertion on the authority that contradicts him.

But, conſider the fact of the Iriſh exports having ſo wonderfully increaſed from Britain, (as from one to a hundred and fifty) under what Mr. Foſter calls unequal encouragement, and in preference to a direct export from Ireland, where there is a decided ſuperiority over the Britiſh exporter equal to five and an half per cent.:* and what ſtronger argument can be produced againſt Mr. Foſter, than his own, to ſhew the dependence of Iriſh trade on a Britiſh market, and Britiſh encouragement?—Or conſider his other fact, of the exports of Britiſh linens gaining head on the export of Iriſh, notwithſtanding the numerous and ſubſtantial ſupports to keep the Iriſh on a level with them; and then let him tell us, how could the Iriſh manufacture cope with the growing progreſs of the Britiſh, were thoſe ſupports taken away?

You now perceive of what conſequence to Ireland this encouragement from Britain is, and, that while Mr. Foſter ſtates the Bounties to be but *unequal encouragement*, towards Ireland, his "deciſive evidence," the Report of *The Lords*

that there is a decided five and a half per cent. in favour of direct export from Ireland.

* See the laſt note.

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of Trade, ſtate the reverſe.—Let him ſeriouſly pauſe upon thoſe facts; and next reconſider his *own* ſtatement.

Mr. Foſter's words are, (page 108, of Woodfall's Report) "The Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Flood) complains of "the Report of the Engliſh Privy Council, who ſay, that to "put *Ireland* on a footing of *exact reciprocity* as to linens, "Ireland *ought* to give a Bounty on the *exportation* of Eng- "liſh linens, becauſe England gives a Bounty on the ex- "portation of Iriſh linens.——————CAN ANY THING BE "MORE JUST?" (adds Mr. Foſter.) Here, is Mr. Foſter laying down his ſolemn opinion to Parliament, that the *encouragement* given by Britain in favour of Ireland, is not ſtrictly *juſt* toward Britain; that it is not *reciprocal*, that it is not *equal*, ſo much is it in *favor* of Ireland: and now Mr. Foſter ſolemnly tells the Parliament, that this ſame encouragement is *unequal*, ſo much is it *againſt* Ireland.

We have ſeen by the indiſputable proofs of facts, that, with *advantages in favour of the Iriſh Exporter*, he finds it neceſſary to reſort to the Britiſh market, and to the Britiſh Exporter. Mr. Foſter, however, tells us gravely (page 87, Speech on Union) that if Ireland loſes the Britiſh trade, ſhe can find *other ports* for her linens. It may very fairly be aſked, if Ireland, with five and an half per cent. in her favor at home, has not found them now; when this advantage ſhall be loſt, where will ſhe find them then? No where.—It is utterly impoſſible; as I could prove ſatisfactorily to every man, were it not too tedious to enter here into the general commerce and manufactures of Europe. But, I do aſſert, that thoſe new ports for linen trade will be found no where. Let him ſhew us, with all the advantages of Britiſh encouragement, what new ports *has* Ireland opened ſince the acquiſition of her free trade?—what new manufactures *has* ſhe eſtabliſhed? But take away Britiſh encouragement and Britiſh connection, and adopt Mr. Foſter's "other port" arguments in favour of ſeparation; and, I tell Mr.

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Foſter, that the ruin of Ireland will be utter and complete; and, that the reſources, which he looſely aſſerts as poſſible, cannot be proved by fair deduction; that he cannot detail them; no, nor perceive them, were his intelligence but one microſcopic eye.

He informs us, that the Bounties paid by Britain to Ireland amounted, in 1797, to about twenty-four thouſand pounds. But why does he fix on this year? Let us refer to the fair official evidence.

The Inſpector General tells us, that in 1796, the Bounties amounted to forty-two thouſand pounds; in 1795, to more than forty-two thouſand; (Table 9, Official Accounts); and on an average of *four years*, that the bounties were *annually thirty-four thouſand, ſeven hundred and eighty-three pounds* (Table 17, Official Accounts).——Is Mr. Foſter's, then, a fair ſtatement?

But he tells us further, with a ſneer, that it was this *great* twenty-four thouſand pound bounty, (that is, this *ſmall* twenty-four thouſand pound bounty ſelected by himſelf out of ſeveral years,) which, on three million of yards in 1797, brought the linen trade to its preſent height. Not ſo, however, according to his official evidence. The Inſpector General (who coincides with Mr. Foſter as to protecting duties being bounties,) tells us, with all the fairneſs of an accomptant, that there was *twenty-five per cent. alſo* in favour of Ireland, that year, on nearly *forty millions* of yards imported, (Table 8, Official Accounts). Here, then, is a trifling difference between Mr. Foſter and his official evidence, of about THIRTY-SEVEN MILLIONS.

In page 85, Mr. Foſter tells Mr. Pitt, that his "is an "idle threat, and that the Britiſh Nation will never conſent "to a war of prohibitions or duties." But does Mr. Foſter forget, that he has *himſelf* proclaimed that war; that he was the menacing herald in 1785? Who announced *the war of bounties, wherein Ireland could not cope with Bri-*

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*tain?"** Let us, however, in this inſtance, act with the mercy of the law, which makes no man criminate himſelf. We ſhall, refer, therefore, to Mr. Foſter's "deciſive evidence" on this point.—The Lords of Trade pronounce diſtinctly on this war of bounties or duties "a ſmall REDUCTION on thoſe *Duties*, (on foreign linens) would enable "Britain to ſupply herſelf with linens as cheap as ever, and "with *advantage to the revenue*." And the Lords of Trade obſerve alſo, that this reduction "might probably obtain in "return a *larger* conſumption of woollen manufactures, and "other goods upon the *Continent of Europe*." (P. 17, par. 2.) Here, then, you will obſerve, Firſt, the Lords of Trade point directly to the war of duties; but, *he* calls it Mr. Pitt's idle threat: Secondly, the Lords of Trade, deliberating with ſolemn wiſdom, to promote the intereſts of Britain, authoriſe this meaſure, of the war of duties; but, Mr. Foſter ſays, for Britain, "its wiſdom and intereſt would forbid it:" Thirdly, Mr. Foſter ſcoffs at Mr. Pitt's inſinuation, that Great Britain loſes revenue by the preſent ſyſtem; but the Lords of Trade declare expreſſly, that it not only loſes revenue, but commerce; and that by what Mr. Foſter has long ſince proclaimed, namely, the war of duties, the *revenues* might receive *advantage*, and the *commerce* and *manufactures increaſe*. Will he call this *but Mr. Pitt's idle threat and inſinuation?*

Again, he points to Mr. Pitt, as led into a labyrinth by miſtakes. We are preſented, however, by Mr. Foſter's official evidence, with a clue which may ſerve to guide us through *his* maze of error.

That we may proceed cautiouſly, however, through ſuch an operation, ſome previous remarks are neceſſary. We ſhall beg leave to conſider as manufactured articles in one country, what have been claſſed as manufactured articles in another; we ſhall be guided by the diſtinctions made in the offi-

* See Woodfall's Report, p. 111.

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cial accounts, which Mr. Foſter has quoted, but *not* followed. Yet it will not be diſputed, I believe, that articles of a ſimilar nature, or, in other words, proviſions; and yarn, &c.; having been claſſed under any denomination in the public accounts, with reſpect to one country, ought to be claſſed under the ſame denomination with reſpect to the other. This, however, (as I obſerved in a former inſtance,) Mr. Foſter has not done. I ſhall beg leave, notwithſtanding, to conform to thoſe public accounts, which he has brought forward as evidence, but of which the details and general object are altogether perverted.

He ſtates, that the *linens*, on an average of the laſt three years, amount to 2,600,000*l.* But the Inſpector General's accounts authoriſe me to ſay, that the *Linen Trade* amounts to 2,844,402l.* Here, then, is a miſtatement of above TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOUR THOUSAND pounds, by Mr. Foſter.

It is alſo aſſerted by this gentleman, that the linen trade forms not one half of the Exports of Ireland: but, according to the Inſpector General's accounts which are now before me, I perceive that it exceeds the half, by about EIGHTY-EIGHT THOUSAND, NINE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-NINE pounds†.

Yet theſe are the official accounts, which Mr. Foſter tells the Parliament, and the two Nations at large, he has *accurately* detailed; "and you may ſee (ſays he) the advantage of arriving at truth by ſuch a detail."

Again Mr. Foſter tells us, page 85,—"Mr. Pitt ſeems to have got into a labyrinth on this ſubject; his miſtakes

* Official Accounts, No. 4—LINEN TRADE.

Plain ſhirting and ſheeting, at 1s. 5d. per yard,	2,600,101
Other linens - - - -	320
Linen yarn - - -	243,981
	£. 2,844,402

† No. 15.—Total amount of the products and manufactures of Ireland, exported to Great Britain, £. 5,510,825.

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and threats are very curious: he (Mr. Pitt) says, *Great Britain* takes from *Ireland* MANUFACTURED PRODUCE, to the amount of between FOUR AND FIVE MILLIONS; whereas even the *British* statement, at the price current, makes the linen 2,600,000 *l.* and it is the *only manufactured produce.*"—You will observe Mr. Foster states that *linen* is the only manufactured produce, and that Mr. Pitt, said, *the manufactured produce* amounted to between *four and five millions.* Now, remark Mr. Pitt's words, (page 48, third edition)—"*Great Britain* imported from *Ireland* to the amount of near THREE MILLIONS in the MANUFACTURED article of *linen*, and linen yarn." Thus, you see, the sum is not, as Mr. Foster quotes, for MANUFACTURES: it approaches *three millions* instead of *five*:—but Mr. Pitt proceeds, and says, that *Great Britain* imported also to the amount of "between *two and three millions* in *provisions* and *cattle*, besides *corn* and *other* articles of PRODUCE," Thus you see also a plain *distinction* between the articles of *manufacture* and *produce*, and different sums stated for them respectively; which different sums make Mr. Pitt's *total.* But Mr. Foster confounds all together under one head of *manufactured produce*, and then tells us there is none other but that of linen, which amounts to 2,600,000 *l.* and that Mr. Pitt says, "Britain imports, of *manufactured produce*, "to the amount of between four and five millions."

So far for the accurate justice of quotation: now as to the fair value of the articles.

Mr. Foster says, "even the British statement, at the "price current, makes the linen 2,600,000 *l.*"

The British statement is now before me, and makes the linen, and linen-yarn, as stated by Mr. Pitt, to amount to 2,844,402 *l.*: and even this is an estimate, at 1s. 5d. per yard on the linens: a more true estimate, perhaps, might be taken at three millions. However, that we may be convinced whether Mr. Pitt has erred, or Mr. Foster, I shall submit to you the British statement, or that of the Inspector General.

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No. 4.—Linen trade	—	—	2,844,402
Provisions	—	—	2,448,404
No. 4.—Cattle	—	—	168,242
			£.5,461,048

Are not those precisely the articles mentioned by Mr. Pitt? Do they not amount to above between *four* and *five* millions? Where is the mistake? Or *who* appears to be in a labyrinth?

However, in the next paragraph, Mr. Foster again asserts, (page 85) Mr. Pitt says, "our LINEN constitutes "*four-fifths* of our export to *all the world.*"

Mr. Pitt's words are (page 49) "The increasing produce "of the *chief article* of *manufacture* (linen) AND *four fifths* "of her whole export, are to be ascribed not to that inde- "pendent legislature, but to the liberality of a British Par- "liament." Surely this does not state that linen constitutes four fifths of the Irish export.

Mr. Foster proceeds, (page 85) "The British paper "shews, that what goes to Britain, which takes, *as he* (Mr. "Pitt) *says*, seven eighths of all our linen, is not *one half* "even of our *exports to her*—much less can it be *four fifths* "of our exports to all the world."

Now the British paper, or the Inspector General's accounts present to my eye, at this instant, that the linen trade *exceeds the half* of the WHOLE export to Britain by *eighty eight thousand, nine hundred and eighty nine pounds.*—I have detailed it before in page 14.

And, *as Mr. Pitt says*, Britain *does* take seven eighths of the Irish linens, and MORE by 653,824 yards*.

Again:—As Mr. Pitt really says (*not*, however, as quoted by Mr. Foster, that the *linens* are *four fifths* of the Irish

* Annual medium during four years preceding 25th March 1798.

To America and foreign states of Europe and Africa	—	—	4,904,119
To Great Britain	—	—	39,885,776.

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exports to *all* the world, but) that the *Iriſh linens*, and *alſo* four fifths of the whole Iriſh exports depend on Britain; the fact is decidedly ſo. As to linens, it has been abundantly demonſtrated already. And as to her *whole exports*, it appears, by the cuſtom-houſe books of IRELAND, that they amounted on an average of the laſt four years to £.4,691,634
and her exports to Britain amounted to 4,175,166
Conſequently her exports to Britain are more than *ten* parts of *eleven*.

I believe, therefore, it is obvious how far Mr. Pitt is wide of miſtatement, and Mr. Foſter of accuracy.

But this Gentleman aſſerts, that Mr. Pitt again forgets a fact, in ſtating that "*Articles* which are eſſential to her "Trade, and to her ſubſiſtence, or ſerve as raw materials "for her manufactures, are ſent from hence [*Britain*] *free* "*of duty*." *

Let Mr. Foſter inſpect the Tables in the Official Accounts, and I believe he will *allow* there are articles which are eſſential to trade, and to ſubſiſtence, or ſerve as raw materials, that are ſent to Ireland free of duty; and from the trade of many of which other countries are actually prohibited in favour of Ireland. But, to ſatisfy the public, I ſhall give the Tables from the official documents, and then every man may himſelf judge how far Mr. Foſter has been candid. (See Tables F. and G.)

In order to ſhow the great advantages to Britain, from the Iriſh trade, Mr. Foſter, by a *partial* view of her commerce, tells us, alſo, (page 89) that "the Export trade of her "manufactures from Britain to Ireland, is equal to about "one third of her Export to all *Europe*."

On a *fair* and *proper* comparative view, however, of the commerce of Britain with Ireland, what ſays the Inſpector General? He informs the Parliament of Great Britain, that on an average of four years preceding January 1799, the

* Mr. Pitt's Speech, page 48.

Total Exports of *British Manufacture* amounted to about *thirty millions and an half*; and the British manufactures exported to *Ireland*, amounted to about *two millions* and *an half*,—that is, a TWELFTH part of her export.* Such I conceive, with the Inspector General, to be the just and accurate comparative view.

I shall not trouble you further on this head with long details, but shall state to you some of the results of those figures now before me, and the truths established by the official documents. And I desire Mr. Foster to contradict me if he can.

Ireland depends upon Britain for the sale of eight parts out of nine, of all the articles of her trade. Those eight parts of Irish exports are received by Great Britain almost, the whole of them, duty free. Whereas, Ireland charges duties on them, and raises a revenue for herself at home, at the expense of Britain; because, the purchasers and consumers in Britain must pay those charges in the price of the articles. A great part, however, of what Britain sends to Ireland, she imposes no duty on; but Ireland raises revenues on them. Ireland raised during the last year, SEVEN HUNDRED, & THIRTY-ONE THOUSAND *Pounds, REVENUES* on the *British Trade*; and on the Trade WITH ALL THE WORLD BESIDE, but *One Hundred and Seventeen Thousand Pounds, Revenues.* †

Although Britain carries on about 1-9th of her commerce with Ireland, yet the British revenue by no means derives from this commerce with Ireland one-ninth of its profits. For, if we deduct from the annual revenues received by Britain, through Irish commerce, those bounties which Britain pays to Irish linens annually; we shall perceive, that,

* Official accounts, No. 17, Exports to Ireland, £.2,631,899—Total Exports, £.30,648,892.

† Lord Auckland,—Table VI.

Revenues derived to Ireland, from her Trade with Great Britain	—	—	£.731,966
From the World beside		—	117,454

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Britain receives * but one pound from Iriſh trade, where 935*l.* is the due proportion. Such, then, is the truth, according to the accurate accounts of the Inſpector General of Great Britain, (No. 17,)————But, if Mr. Foſter be right the Cuſtom-Houſe books of Great Britain diſplay to the Parliament of this Kingdom a poſitive falſehood.

The dilemma, which enſues, is——that we muſt diſcredit either Mr. Foſter, or this evidence to which he appeals. We cannot aſſent to contradictions. In thoſe accounts, however, to which he has referred, and which are now before my eyes, the *total reverſe* appears of what Mr. Foſter aſſerts.————Yet he tells us, and puts it before us in various ſhapes, that the exiſting trade is much *more beneficial* to Britain than it is to Ireland! But I moſt obviouſly and unerringly ſee, and I do aſſert, on no equivocal authority, that it is not even *mutually* beneficial.——He aſſures us, that if the Houſe of Commons whereof he is now Speaker, be incorporated with the Engliſh Commons, this Union will injure your trade and manufactures. The direct contrary of all this, has been demonſtrated through the irreſiſtible arguments of different, and moſt able men; ſome of whom have been the guides and ornaments of paſt times; others of whom have been the political prophets of our own days, and the admiration of the good and wiſe. I ſee an Union, therefore, through ſuch mediums, without being diſtorted by the fallacy, or dimmed by the ſhade of intereſt, as the true and only meaſure that can give ſtability or

* Revenues received on an average of four years; preceding January 5, 1799.

By Britain from Ireland, -	£.40,911
Bounties paid by Britain to Ireland,	34,783
Remains	6,128

We ſhall find, therefore, that 6,000*l.* revenue from Ireland, bears a proportion to the revenues of Britain which ariſe from trade, and amount to 5,734,525*l.* as one pound to nine hundred and thirty-five Pounds.

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improvement to those eminent advantages which Ireland now enjoys. These must be utterly lost, if she does not become one with Britain, without distinctness of views or separation of interests. Thus, therefore, I do see, and, I doubt not, that the people of Ireland will most plainly see, the direct REVERSE of what Mr. Foster would impress upon us. ——The trade of Ireland does not afford such advantages to Great Britain, that all apprehension of its loss is idle on the part of the former; and therefore we should NOT agree with him to keep the House of Commons in Ireland, in manifest opposition to national prosperity, and Imperial good.

The next Question, to which the arguments of Mr. Foster may be reduced, is as follows:

SECOND POINT.—*Is all extension of the trade of Ireland, under Union, by an establishment or participation of the great branches of British manufacture, radically impossible?*

In support of this point, Mr. Foster states (in page 68,) that iron, woollen, cotton, and pottery wares, constitute the principal manufactures of Great Britain. And he proceeds to shew, that iron is imported into Ireland, at only 11*l.* 6*d.* per ton; and into Britain, at near 3*l.* (it is, in fact, at 3*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*) yet Britain manufactures and exports this iron to Ireland, to the amount of 119,000*l.* annually, though she pays a further duty on importation into Ireland, of 112*l.* 14*s.* per cent. And this extraordinary power and superiority in trade, arise, says Mr. Foster, from the vicinity of coals to the British manufacture.

Now that this is *not* the case, will clearly appear; and, consequently, his assertion of the radical impossibility of Ireland's not extending her manufactures under an Union, because she has *not* coals in her vicinity, must fall to the ground.

It is not solely the vicinity of coals, but the various relations of commerce that promote manufactures. If it were the vicinity of coals, why should such extensive manufac-

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tores of iron, and even those of the coarſeſt kind, be carried on in London, and not in Newcaſtle? why are they not carried on in the latter place, rather than in an expenſive metropolis? by which means heavy wages for labour, heavy charges for diſtant carriage, and the heavy duty of 9s. 3d. per chaldron for coals, would be ſaved. It is evidently, therefore, *not* ſolely the vicinity of coals, which cauſes the eſtabliſhment or extenſion of manufactures; nor can the want of this vicinity, be a radical prevention.

For if it were ſolely the vicinity of coals, the manufacturing places of Ireland, are not ſo diſtant from Whitehaven, and from the weſtern coaſts of Great Britain, whence they receive their ſupply, as we are on this ſpot. Beſide, we are charged 9s. 3d. duty per chaldron on coals here, while there is impoſed but 1l. 2d. per chaldron on coals, ſent to Ireland. And notwithſtanding this heavy expenſe for fuel, and the great price of food, labour, taxes, and all the neceſſaries of life; various and extenſive manufactures are carried on, in and about this metropolis.

The inference, therefore, is obvious. It is want of capital, and of the invigorating influence of commerce, and not want of coals, that produces the preſent effect with reſpect to the iron manufacture in Ireland. Conſequently, we find no argument whatever, under this head, which proves the *impoſſibility* of the *eſtabliſhment* or *extenſion* of manufactures; but arguments to prove the reverſe. Get capital, by giving ſecurity to the Britiſh manufacturer,—which ſecurity, is Union; and then ſolid ſucceſs will ſoon confute Mr. Foſter's viſionary alarms.

A ſtronger body of facts cannot be adduced, to overturn Mr. Foſter's aſſertions on this queſtion, than his own ſtatements furniſh. Let us however hear Mr. Foſter, upon the very point, whereon all the preſſure of his arguments bears.

He gravely admoniſhes Cork, with reſpect to woollens, &c. and aſſures them, that theſe manufactures can *never* be promoted in Ireland, by the meaſure of an Union, *for the*

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reaſons which he had aſſigned, and to which he refers them. His *reaſons* and his words are, (p. 67,) "it is ſelf-evident, "that theſe manufactures never can travel *from* the country "which *has* the coal, to that which has it NOT, *viz.* from "Great Britain to Ireland." Again, (p. 87, which is ten pages further) he ſays, "Neceſſity may compel us to ſearch "for coals, which do EXIST in Ireland." And again (in p. 194 of Woodfall's Report) he warns the Parliament of Ireland, with this fact: "Were ſhe" (England) "even to "raiſe the revenue on coals to you, that ſhe does on her "own coaſt carriage, what would become of you? You "have *not Iriſh coal.*"——"To ſuch wretched ſhifts are "Gentlemen driven, who attempt to ſupport what is not "ſupportable."—It is Mr. Foſter's rebuke to Mr. Flood, —uttered by himſelf,—page 107, Woodfall's Report.

I have been thus particular with reſpect to coal, becauſe, it is the great baſis of argument, upon which he would ſubſtantiate the radical impoſſibility of the eſtabliſhment or extenſion of Iriſh manufactures: but, by which, it appears that Mr. Foſter abſolutely proves nothing. It is equally contradictory, with reſpect to the other manufactures, as well as iron.——Were I to enter into the particulars of the great ſeat of the ſuperfine broad cloath manufacture at Bradford, and of the kerſeymere and fancy goods at Trowbridge, and then into the particulars of the weſtern parts of Ireland, I could demonſtratively ſhew, that the arguments of Mr. Foſter are totally invalid and inconcluſive.—I ſhall but generally obſerve, however, that in all calculations relative to the eſtabliſhment of manufactures, it is highly erroneous to conſider only one branch of expenſe; we are to calculate all the great branches of expenſe—fuel, food, labour, taxes.

I find, therefore, that the ton of coals, containing thirty-two buſhels, coſts in Iriſh currency about 1*l.* 12*s.* at Bradford* and Trowbridge; and in London, upon the general

* About One Shilling, Iriſh, the buſhel.

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average, about 1*l.* 18*s.*—at the preſent moment, the average is 2*l.* 14*s.* 1*d*½. whereas the ton of coals in Ireland coſts about 20*s.* or one guinea.——Where, then, is his ground for the impoſſibility of extending manufactures in Ireland?—Food is in her favour, being very much againſt England—Labour at leaſt double the price againſt England; and Taxes infinitely more.

It is demonſtrable, that his argument of coals, is not only a local, but a radical error; becauſe not founded upon true principles, as might be ſhewn, by manifeſt proofs drawn alſo from the ſeats of the cloth manufacture in France, before the Revolution.—For in Champagne, and other places where fancy goods, ſuperfine cloths and kerſeymeres were made, fuel was extremely dear: yet, notwithſtanding this, they rendered kerſeymeres at 3*s.* 6*d.* per yard, while Engliſh kerſeymeres, with the advantages of coal, as ſtated by Mr. Foſter, amounted to from 9*s.* to 10*s.* per yard. Since this then is the caſe, and I do aſſert it as a fact, *whence* aroſe this great diſproportion between the *dearneſs* of the manufacture in the coal country, and its *cheapneſs* in the country where fuel is expenſive?—From three advantages which Ireland poſſeſſes—cheapneſs of food, and cheapneſs of labour, and low rate of taxes. Were we to ſift this matter in every poſſible ſhape, it would prove but more and more the reverſe of what Mr. Foſter would enforce. The fact alſo is, notwithſtanding Mr. Foſter's contradictions of exiſtence and non-exiſtence—there *are coals* in Ireland, and in abundance. But there is not *capital* to dig them, nor to explore the mines of lead, ſilver, and copper, of the country; nor to cut canals, nor to erect machinery for great *cotton works*, nor to drive a foreign trade. And as to the other article of Pottery, ſince the very coarſeſt kind is made in the neighbourhood of London, where coals are ſo dear; why is it not made in Dublin?

Mr. Foſter's argument, with reſpect to coal evidently does not apply here: and, if I be rightly informed, materials for the fineſt China are abundant in Ireland.—But capital fails.

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And this is the reafon upon which Mr. Foſter might build his complaint, that "there is not a ſingle pottery in Ireland." Get capital therefore, by UNITING with the firſt partner in the world, in opulence, character, and commerce.

I have now before me, in a manuſcript with which I have juſt been favoured, a corroborative ſupport, of what I before maintained againſt Mr. Foſter's arguments, as not being founded upon true principles. It is the opinion of Mr. David Hume, in a letter to Lord Kaims, and of Dean Tucker on the ſame ſubject. You will perceive that the views of thoſe celebrated men were comprehenſive, and not limited to a ſingle article, for conſiderations on commerce.

Mr. David Hume's letter to Lord Kaims, relates to a tract of Dean Tucker's, and contains the following paſſage: —"All the advantages which the author (Dean Tucker) "inſiſts upon as belonging to a nation of extenſive com- "merce, are undoubtedly real: *Great capital, extenſive* "*correſpondence, ſkilful expedients* of facilitating labour, *dex-* "*terity, induſtry*, &c. &c."

Herein you ſee, on the authority of two of the firſt men of our age, how numerous are the relations, which invigorate and promote trade. And does not Union ſecure participation of all theſe to Ireland? Surely then, the authority of Hume and Tucker are no weak opinions in its favour. "But" Mr. Hume proceeds and ſays to Lord Kaims, and it is well worthy of particular remark on this occaſion— "Among the advantages, we may reckon the DEAR PRICE "of PROVISIONS and LABOUR, which *enables* the POORER "country to rival them, (the rich,) firſt in the coarſer "manufactures, and then in thoſe which are more elaborate."

Can an opinion more pointed or more weighty be given in favour of an Union? Mr. Hume ſays further—"I in- "dulge myſelf in the hopes, that we in Scotland alſo poſſeſs "*ſome advantages*, which may enable us to *ſhare* with them "(the people of Britain) in wealth and induſtry."

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Mr. Hume's opinion has proved well founded even upon "*ſome* advantages"—but, where there are *numerous* and *extraordinary advantages* for the ſame end, Mr. Foſter aſſerts it is an *impoſſibility*. This opinion too of Mr. Foſter's is in direct oppoſition to a maxim laid down by Dean Tucker, in this remarkable correſpondence now before me.

We are anxious to eſtabliſh an Union between the two countries, at a moment that the commerce of Britain is become great beyond example, and when it is wiſe for her to communicate, and more ſo for Ireland to receive a portion of that commerce. This cannot be done with policy, but by Union; and when an Union takes place, this event muſt unavoidably follow, notwithſtanding the impoſſibility urged by Mr. Foſter. For it is certain, according to Dean Tucker—"That the RICHER, that is, the more induſtri-"ous all countries are, the *more beneficial* they will become "to each other." The more abundant the commerce of Britain, and the more extenſive its induſtry, the more will they both expand their benefits to Ireland, when the channel can be opened with ſafety to her capital, and to her commercial and manufacturing intereſts, by an Union.

Upon the high authorities of thoſe celebrated men in my favour I might reſt this point—but I ſhall call in Mr. Foſter himſelf to my ſupport; and no better words or ideas than Mr. Foſter's are requiſite to confute him upon the radical impoſſibility of extending the Iriſh trade. He ſays (page 111, of Woodfall's Report) "Were a man to look for the "country, *moſt advantageous to ſettle manufacture in, what* "*would be his choice?*—where labour and proviſions are "cheap—*that is*, IRELAND. And what would he next "look for?—why, to a rich, ſteady, and extended market "near him—which England, ſtretched alongſide, affords:"—"and it is impoſſible, but that in time, with as *good* climate, "*equally natural* powers, *cheaper* food, and *fewer* taxes, we "muſt be *able* to *ſell* to them." Here we ſee Mr. Foſter, proving to every man, that Ireland is the moſt advantageous

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country to ſettle manufactures in; and which muſt even outrival England and ſell to her. But to day, he ſays it is no ſuch thing: commerce cannot be extended in Ireland; no Engliſh merchant ought or will come to ſettle in it (that is in the country which Mr. Foſter has proved to be ſo advantageous for manufacture): the merchant, or *The Speaker* for the merchant, ſays, it is all an *impoſition* on the Iriſh Nation; it is all a *dupery*. But, if the *Parliament be in Ireland*—ay, then indeed, the Engliſh Merchant *will* hazard his capital (page 69, Mr. Foſter's late ſpeech).

One ſimple queſtion ſhall be aſked here—How long have Parliaments been in Ireland?—and what Engliſh Houſe has been eſtabliſhed there? Yet we find Engliſh Houſes in every country throughout Europe, and in every quarter of the globe. I ſhall commit this to your own comments, and only requeſt you may caſt your eye on Dean Tucker's arguments in the Tract of "*Union or Separation*," to be convinced of the futility and hollowneſs of theſe opinions of Mr. Foſter, as to the reſidence of Parliament. It is always a preſumptive proof in favour of a meaſure, when its adverſary contradicts himſelf.

But can the extenſion of commerce be promoted by comparative cheapneſs in Ireland, if as Mr. Foſter maintains, the taxes will be increaſed, and *Union* is but a meaſure of taxation? Here again his own words will anſwer, "that he "ſtrangely conſtrues the *means* of revenue, into giving revenue;" (Woodfall, page 107.) Diſproportions in Taxation muſt ever remain, if the ſuperſtructure be equal in both countries. And, as a great portion of the revenues of Britain ariſes from the *exciſe duties, and the diſproportion in theſe

* The accounts of the year 1797 being now before me, I ſhall ſtate them, as it will anſwer fairly the purpoſe of compariſon. It appears, therefore, that the groſs produce of the exciſe is nearly half of the whole ordinary revenue; and

duties upon neceſſaries in Britain and Ireland is extreme: if therefore, upon this baſis, ſo unequal now, future additions be made exactly equal in both countries, conſequently the *inequality* in taxes upon neceſſaries of life will ever remain in FAVOR of Ireland.————But, if the ſuperſtructure be unequal, on any manufacture in both countries, and be proportioned by the growth of that manufacture; conſequently, the taxes in both countries can never be equal, until the manufactures in both countries, be equally proſperous. And God grant, for the happineſs and power of every portion of the Empire, that this period may ſoon arrive!

Theſe are my anſwers to the radical impoſſibility of extending manufactures under an Union, becauſe there is *no coal* in Ireland; and becauſe there—*is* coal, as aſſerted by Mr. Foſter.

I ſhall now call your attention to ſome points ariſing out of the two preceeding propoſitions, and ſhall conſider them under the following head:

THIRD POINT.—*What is the Nature and Extent of the Commercial Intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland?*

On looking over the Commerce between the two countries, I find, that it conſiſts of a few great articles, for which Ireland could not find a market in any other part of the world, to any extent.

The firſt of thoſe is *Linens*:—the whole export of which amounts to about forty millions of yards: and of thoſe, about thirty-five millions are taken by Great Britain. Mr. Foſter, however, aſſerts, that the linen manufactures may find other

and the net produce *more* than *half* of the *whole* ordinary revenue *of Great Britain.*

Whole Groſs produce of the ordinary Revenue	25,515,719
Whole Groſs Produce of the Exciſe - - -	11,916,495
Whole Net produce of the ordinary Revenue -	18,488,607
Whole Net produce of the Exciſe - - -	9,374,333

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markets, "it is impoſſible (ſays he) to foreſee, if they be prohi-
"bited from Britiſh ports, what ports we may find, what returns
"we may get, and in thoſe, how much of what ſhe now ſupplies
"us with, may be included. We know our linens beat the
"German and Ruſſian, in the American market—they are
"preferred even to the Scotch, &c. &c."—(Page 87, Mr. Foſter's laſt Speech.) Now let us ſee what he ſays in a former ſpeech:—"expect a market to favor the linens of Ireland?
"Where will he find a market under Heaven for that ma-
"nufacture, which brings two millions (about three millions
"now) annually into the kingdom? Will Portugal take
"them? will Spain take them? will France take them?
"will Ruſſia, Germany, or Holland take them?—they are
"your powerful rivals, and able to underſell you. Where
"then will you find a market, if England ſhuts her ports?"
&c.&c. (Woodfall's Report, page 193.) Here again, I ſhall leave to your own mind all comment on ſuch contradictions.

I muſt obſerve further, however, on the linen trade, that it is admitted duty free into Britain, in direct competition with her own manufactures. Britain alſo ſupports this competition againſt herſelf, even by bounties, to the amount of 34,000l. per annum: and moreover ſhe enables the Iriſh linens to ſtand the competition with foreign linens both in the Britiſh and foreign markets. She purſues this ſyſtem in favour of Ireland, and much to the detriment of her own manufactures of all kinds, which are charged with reciprocal duties by foreign nations; and in conſequence of which, her exports to the Baltick and northern nations, have ſuffered materially. The loſs to Great Britain through the Iriſh linen trade, has been calculated at above two thirds of a million per annum.

Beſide this, the Linen manufacture of Ireland ſtands indebted, not only to Britiſh channels for foreign trade, but to Britiſh capital and credit.—It ſtands indebted to this capital and credit, not only becauſe the Britiſh merchant pays the Iriſh manufacturer ſpeedily, in order to enable him to carry on his manufacture at home; but becauſe the Britiſh merchant gives

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long credit to all purchasers, in order to encourage the sale of these linens*. It is therefore, in so much, to the bounties, the capital, the credit, and the liberality of Britain, that the linen manufacture of Ireland owes its progress and present flourishing state.

Should Great Britain, however, be disposed to apply to her own linen manufactures that system of policy, which she has uniformly adopted in the protection of all her other manufactures, and place the Irish linens on the same footing as foreign linens, by charging them with twenty-five per cent. duty, what must follow? This important branch, that gives bread to so great a proportion of the industrious part of the people of that country, would if not annihilated, be reduced to a very ruinous state. And if it should not be ruined, Britain would add to her revenues 650,000l. per annum in duties alone, and save 34,000 l. in bounties. But, if it should be ruined, Britain would save 34,000l. per annum bounties, and probably gain the manufacture to itself, as in the instance of the sail cloth branch, quoted by Mr. Foster.

With respect to the arguments held out by the opposers of Union, in support of the many advantages, which the commerce and manufactures of that country have derived from the watchful attention of their own Legislature, they are, in truth, unfounded. Not that I mean to derogate from the high character and merits of your Legislature, but this is an act not within your competency; because it is beyond the faculty of the nation. The fact indeed overturns the assertion, For were those gentlemen asked in candor and honor to say, with all the legal privileges of Ireland for general import

* If I be rightly informed by British Merchants, they pay for Irish Linens by bills of two or three months credit; but which are immediately discounted for the Irish Trader by British Bankers. Whereas the British retail dealer in those linens seldom gives less to his customers than one year's credit; and the British exporter from 12 to 18, and 24 months credit to the purchasers.

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and export, what new manufacture has been created, or what manufacture do the Irish possess of any consequence, at least, which creates an export trade, beside the manufacture of linen? The reply would be, none.

If they compare their Foreign Trade before the freedom of their Legislature with the foreign trade at present, they must exclude the trade to the States of America; because the States in the first period constituted a part of the British dominions, and the trade having existed with it as such, did not appear distinct as now. If they next compare the amount of the trade to the Continent of Europe before and after the freedom of the Legislature, the increase which has been attributed to its watchful attention will be found very trifling, if it be not altogether invisible.

Whoever, therefore, will investigate this subject with fairness and accuracy, will find that the increased commercial prosperity of Ireland has arisen perhaps solely from its increased trade with this kingdom; and has been promoted by the credit and capital of Britain.

The next great article in the commerce of Ireland, is the *Provision* trade and what must ensue, were this trade cut off?——Ireland would lose *thirty thousand pounds* * per annum in her revenues, from the export alone—and nearly † TWO MILLIONS and an HALF in her sale, for which she could not resort to any other market. But it may be asked, what would Britain lose?

It appears, by my Lord Auckland on the Union (page 35. table 7.) and no man is more fair or more accurate in his details, that though all the beef furnished to the fleets be in-

* Lord Auckland on Union—Table 6.

Duties collected in Ireland on Beef, Butter, and Pork sent to Great Britain—1798 - £. 33,495

† Annual Amount of Provision Trade with Great Britain, on an average of the last four years. - - - - £. 2,448,404 13 9

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cluded, Britain would not lose a supply, equal to *one-third* of what is sold at a *single* market in London—Smithfield. Such a portion in general consumption is of small comparative magnitude. And as to the British colonies, America would soon supply them, and be grateful for the boon, if permitted. Under the present pressure, and the great demand of provisions for our fleets, this permission has been partially given, and, if extended, the trade, which has been a monopoly to Ireland, must be lost to her.

Those two articles constitute almost the whole of the commerce of Ireland. And of what nature and extent its Linen trade is with Britain, you may judge, when, out of forty millions of yards, thirty-five are taken by Britain: and of what consequence its Provision trade is, you may also judge, when its export to Britain is about 2,400,000 l. and to the rest of the world about 200,000 l.

If those two branches of commerce be cut off, Ireland is ruined. For as to Mr. Foster's "new port" argument, however it may flatter the views of Separatists, it is absurd.

With all its support and indulgencies from Britain, and the relaxation of the navigation laws, why does not Ireland open *new ports* now? why have her ports stood so long idle and useless to herself? why do not the fisheries, that school of mariners, occupy and save to her 113,000 l. annually, which she pays to Britain for fish? why does she import circuitously by British means, and under heavy expenses, indigo, sugar, wool, cotton, and other West India products, to the amount of 541,392 l. annually?—because she has faculty to import only to the amount of 165,665 l. annually. Take away her great support, and enfeeble that faculty, will she then become more vigorous, extend her commerce, open "new ports," and become more flourishing, when she becomes more feeble?

Numerous and strong proofs could be adduced here, to shew the inability of Ireland to carry on, either her trade or manufactures, without the aid of capital, and credit, through the British merchant.

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You have ſeen how Ireland depends on Great Britain for its trade, which is formed by linens and proviſions. You have ſeen its want of faculty to profit of the freedom of trade which it obtained with the Britiſh colonies. But I ſhall now lay before you the whole ſtate of its Exports, Imports, and Revenues; in order to aſcertain what it owes to Britain: or, in other words, what it gains at preſent, and may hereafter loſe, by the loſs of *Union*.

According to the eſtimated value, in the Cuſtom-houſe books of IRELAND, it appears that

The EXPORTS from that country to *all parts of the world*, amount on an annual average of the laſt three years, to - - - £. 4,691,634

Of which ſum her exports to Britain and her colonies amounted to - - - 4,175,166

Conſequently ſhe depends upon Britain for the WHOLE of her *export* trade, except about *half* a million, in above four millions and a half.

According to the ſame authority, the *Cuſtom-houſe books of Ireland*, it appears that

The IMPORTS into that country, from all Parts of the World, amount on an average of the laſt three Years to - - - - £. 4,297,818

Of which ſum the imports from Britain and her colonies amount to - - - 3,546,762

Conſequently ſhe depends upon Britain for the WHOLE of her *imports*, except about *ſeven hundred and fifty* thouſand pounds, in above four millions two hundred thouſand pounds.

But

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But it is ſtill more important to remark here, that

The total value of *all* Foreign Merchandize imported into Ireland (beſide the native products and Manufactures of Great Britain) amounts to - - - - £. 2,080,387

And of this ſum, there was imported, through the medium of Great Britain - - 1,205,952

becauſe *this fact* furniſhes the *ſtrongeſt* proof of the *dependence* of Ireland on *Britiſh capital.*

When Mr. Foſter ſpeaks of the freedom of Ireland for foreign trade, who diſputes it?—When he ſpeaks of other ports and other reſources than Britain, I doubt it. Becauſe, according to the foregoing obſervations, it appears that Ireland has NOT faculty at this moment to import, from the States of America and all the world, but to the ſmall amount of about 750,000 l.

The protected and favoured ſtate in which ſhe appears, with reſpect to her REVENUES alſo, is not leſs ſtriking. If we firſt conſider what revenue ſhe draws from her trade with the world, except Britain, it amounts * to but 117,454

Whereas, from her trade with Great Britain, ſhe derives † - - £.731,966

Such is the comparative profit gained in her trade by Ireland with Britain, and with all the world. Now what is the comparative profit of Britain and Ireland in their mutual trade with each other, in the year ending January 1798. It appears that Britain draws a revenue from her Iriſh trade amounting to ‡ - - - - £.47,326

Whereas Ireland draws a revenue from the Britiſh trade amounting to - - - 634,403

Balance in favour of Ireland - - 587,077

* Lord Auckland, Table 6. † The ſame.
‡ Official Account, No. 14.

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But if we deduct the medium of *four years* bounties [ſee Table E.] from *four years* revenues, the account ſtands thus: Ireland draws Revenue from *Britiſh* Trade - £.634,403 *Britain* from *Iriſh* Trade, after deducting Bounties, £.6,128 ——The above facts require no comment.

You ſee obviouſly before you, and upon authority not to be diſputed, how much Ireland depends on Great Britain; that four parts out of ſix of her *Imports* depend on Britain—that ten parts out of eleven of her *Exports* depend on Britain—that moſt of her *Foreign* trade depends on Britain—that ſeven parts out of eight of her *Linen* trade depend on Great Britain—that above eleven parts out of twelve of the *Proviſion* trade depend on Britain: and that the revenues are, through Britiſh liberality, *above an hundred to one* in favour of *Ireland*, and againſt *Britain*.

Here we may apply the words of Mr. Foſter, during his diſcuſſion of the propoſitions: "THIS ſubject is NOT under-"ſtood: when known, and Ireland is unprejudiced and in her "calm reaſon, ſhe will *never* reject the *many bleſſings* it holds "out to her trade." And again, (page 112, Woodfall's Report.) "commercial jealouſy is rouſed, it will INCREASE "WITH INDEPENDENT LEGISLATURES; without an "united intereſt of commerce in a commercial empire, *politi-*"*cal Union* will receive many ſhocks, and SEPARATION of "INTERESTS muſt threaten SEPARATION of CONNEX-"ION, which every honeſt Iriſhman muſt *ſhudder* ever to "look at as a poſſible event. I will only add, that if this "meaſure be refuſed, Ireland will receive *more ſolid injury* "than from any *other evil* that ever befel her." Such were Mr. Foſter's words; and, beyond doubt, if any diſſention ariſe between the two countries, Ireland hazards the whole of this trade, which Great Britain has in her power to command, and cut off as ſhe ſees fit. But by Union this trade is ſecured: it is not only ſecured, but, by forming a cloſer po-

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litical connexion, Ireland eſtabliſhes a new fund of capital and credit, the want of which is evidently the ſole and great difficulty, that ſhe labours under in her commerce and manufactures.

Since, therefore, Ireland depends, without contradiction, at this moment, upon Britain for her Trade, her Revenues, and her Protection; for without this protection, where would be her trade?—ſince this is the caſe, with the looſe band of connexion now ſubſiſting between the two countries, were it not an act of common ſenſe, to ſecure all thoſe advantages indiſſolubly? were it not an act of honorable pride, to poſſeſs them as a RIGHT which cannot be torn from her, rather than as a *boon* which degrades into DEPENDENCE, and may be annihilated by caprice? Surely with its quick and high feelings, the wiſdom of the nation ſhould combine, and prudently and proudly proclaim, with one voice—*Union.*

Having now fully conſidered the propoſitions, formed by Mr. Foſter's opinions againſt Union, namely—that the trade of Ireland is not dependent on Great Britain, and cannot be loſt; and that her commerce and manufactures cannot be extended; I truſt theſe erroneous aſſertions appear confuted in all their bearings. There remains but one great queſtion more to which the reſt of his book tends—the *neceſſity* of an Union.

I ſhall paſs over that waſte of ingenuity, which labours at a fallacy in reſpect to Parliamentary power over Treaties, but which no Parliament whatever poſſeſſes; and much leſs an Iriſh Parliament over Britiſh treaties.—There is one mode, however, and only one, whereby that power may be obtained in ſubſtance by the Iriſh nation: it is through Union. For then no partial Britiſh treaty can take place, nor partial embargo be laid on.

As to the queſtion of neceſſity; his arguments endeavour to ſhew,—firſt, that an Union is not only *unneceſſary*: but next, that it is *neceſſary* to reject it.

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FOURTH POINT.—*Is an Union neceſſary?*

Mr. Foſter labours through nearly fifty pages, to prove that the Union is unneceſſary, on account of the Adjuſtment of 1782, which he calls FINAL.

The true queſtion, however, on ſuch an Adjuſtment, as a bar to an Union, ſeems to be this—Is it efficacious? What is the political and civil ſtate of the country, under its operation? Are the people happy and content? Is there individual ſecurity and public proſperity? Becauſe if this be not the caſe, the meaſure is clearly not efficacious: and whatever is not efficacious, *ought not* to be, nor *can it be, final.* Let us not diſpute, like caſuiſts, about words, when we are in ſearch of things. What I mean here by *not final*, is, that no conſtitutional adjuſtment, which *fails* in thoſe effects, *can bar all other arrangements*, to *accompliſh* ſuch great and neceſſary purpoſes. Any poſition to the contrary, tends to violate the eternal principle of all laws, which is the *good of the people:* and lays waſte at once, the eſſence of all power, which is *neceſſity*, immutable neceſſity, to eſtabliſh the *good of the people.*

Beſide, no laws whatever, whether political or commercial, if they be laws of regulation, are in their nature *final.* Had it been otherwiſe, the adjuſtment of 1782, could *not* have taken place: but having taken place, it is a demonſtrative proof *againſt*, and not in favour of Mr. Foſter. If he argues this point, therefore, on the *principle* of compacts, as a lawyer or a ſtateſman, he is altogether wrong: and if he argues it on the grounds of *fact* he is equally erroneous, for his own words recoil upon, and defeat him.—Let us follow this point.

He tells us (page 3, Late Speech) that "Mr. Pitt's argu-"ments (if they deſerve that name) are matter of ſurpriſe; "for they either reſt on *miſrecollection* of FACTS, or, ſo far "from being *borne up* by the AUTHORITIES he refers to, "are *clearly* and *incontrovertibly* OVERTURNED by them." And (in page 27,) he maintains on the ground of "MANY

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"PROOFS"—any *one* of which, he says, is sufficient to justify HIS *assertion*,—that the settlement of 1782 was FINAL; ——he adds, that those authorities, which overturn *Mr. Pitt's statement*, are "the opinions of the *British Parliament* "and *British* MINISTERS, who conducted the measure:" and in page 31, he says, "Mr. Pitt *contradicts the King, "Lords, Commons, Viceroy, and himself.*"

Observe, that the *fact* in question here—is, whether the adjustment was considered in 1782 as *final* or *not*: the *authorities* referred to on this question, are the *Ministers* and *Viceroy:* and the *contradiction*, as stated by Mr. Foster, is from *those* authorities to Mr. Pitt, and from Mr. Pitt to them.

Now, I find, that the authorities which this Gentleman has quoted, clearly corroborate the arguments of Mr. Pitt, and incontrovertibly overturn Mr. Foster's assertions. The *records* of the British Parliament, the solemn and concurrent declarations of the *Ministers*, and that very *Viceroy* to whom he has referred you, maintain the contrary: for, from those very lips, *I have heard*, in the British House of Lords, on March 19, 1799, a positive and unqualified *contradiction* to what this misconceiving Gentleman has *asserted:* And this I testify in the face of day. What are then, his fifty pages of Arguments, and "Many Proofs?" According to the following express words of his Grace the Duke of Portland, for the intentions on that measure of 1782,—"THE "ADJUSTMENT *was* NOT FINAL."————Where are Mr. Foster's authorities—where his proofs of Mr. Pitt's contradictions to his Majesty?—I mention the name of my Sovereign with a deep sense of duty, and all the feelings of just attachment; and I refer to his gracious message on the present occasion, as to an act of uniformity, that establishes the Royal intentions in 1782: I refer to it as a corroboration, that no contradiction in word or act exists, on the point of the adjustment being *not* final.

There is another appeal, set up by this Gentleman, of a still more sacred nature; it is an awful one to Heaven.—

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I deplore the introduction of Religion, as a proof, when it proves nothing. The beſt inſtruments are injured by injudicious application. In all times, but chiefly in the preſent, evidence of this nature ſhould not be lightly reſorted to: and never for the purpoſe of fallacy, leſt it be degraded by the conſequent diſrepute. Not to endeavour to ſhield it from this, were a dereliction of all reverence for my religion, and of that duty which I peculiarly owe to the great cauſe of God and man, under the circumſtances of our days.

However, though at iſſue on the fact, I ſhall but conciſely remark, and with pain, on the futility of Mr. Foſter's proof. This Gentleman aſſerts, that the National Thankſgiving, on the adjuſtment in 1782, is a proof of its being *final*; I am ſurpriſed at a poſition ſo devoid of force, though not of fallacy.

Its force is that of a mere ſhadow, which the broad light of LEGISLATIVE *principle* diſperſes. Will, however, its champion maintain, *againſt* reaſon, that this adjuſtment of 1782, not only removed all errors of paſt, but comprehended all perfections for future times? This is contrary to common ſenſe, and the melancholy evidence of calamities which deſolate a nation that is dear to us.—It argues alſo an aſſumption of wiſdom and power that belong but to the Deity.

Mark the fallacy:—A ſolemn thankſgiving was offered up for a final adjuſtment, ſays Mr. Foſter. Agreed: but a *final* adjuſtment of what?—of a Britiſh claim, a degrading law to bind Ireland in legiſlative chains. It was on breaking this power of bondage over Ireland, on ſnapping the fetters of uſurpation aſunder, and on ſome other ſubordinate points, that the *adjuſtment* was conſidered *final*. This was the great, and important occaſion, which reſtored its liberty to Ireland, and cauſed a ſolemn *Thankſgiving* to be made to the Great Giver of all bleſſings.—The three other objects of thoſe days, Poyning's Law, the Appellant Juriſdiction, and the Mutiny Bill, were ſubordinate. But ſo far, and no farther, did the idea of *final* adjuſtment reach; and upon this happy and

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glorious deliverance from bondage was that pious return of gratitude offered by an entire people.

When, however, Mr. Foſter aſſerts, in order to prove an *Union unneceſſary*, that the adjuſtment went further, in ſo much as to bar future regulations, he Firſt, maintains an utter impoſſibility not only in principle, but in object; becauſe, as Lord Lanſdown well obſerved, there was a preciſe point then in agitation—becauſe it was impoſſible it could be final upon other points—becauſe it was impoſſible it could be final upon a point directly the reverſe of the one in view, which was, in 1782, a *Separation*—*now* it is an *Union* of the Parliaments. Secondly, he miſconceives and miſtates a *fact*. Thirdly, he would melt and mould what was *particularly final*, into *univerſally* final; and, we ſhall now ſee, that his arguments for this purpoſe begun, as they have concluded, in errors.

The ſecond page of Mr. Foſter's Speech appears thus—

Speaker:—"The Noble Lord (Caſtlereagh) has ſaid, that "the evil he mentioned aroſe out of the ſettlement of "1782; becauſe until then, this kingdom *acknowledged* the "*power* in the Britiſh Parliament to bind Ireland."

It is unneceſſary to ſtate to a man of your known diſcrimination at the bar, that by *power* here, can be meant only *authority*.

Lord *Caſtlereagh*.—"I did not mean to ſay *acknowledged*; "but that, before the adjuſtment of 1782, this country was "in the *habit* of *paying obedience* to that power."

Here, you perceive, his Lordſhip clearly ſhews, by his explanation, that Ireland *obeyed* an authority which had been *aſſumed*, but did not *acknowledge* it as *juſt*.

Speaker.—"The Noble Lord copies his brother Miniſter "in ambiguity of expreſſion, as well as in all his poſitions. "The Miniſter ſays, what *puts an end* to any thing is not "*final*."—Be ſo good as to remark *this* ambiguity of expreſſion. The adjuſtment, as you have ſeen, was certainly final on *ſome* points; but, becauſe Mr. Foſter cannot have

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it *final* upon *every* conſtitutional point, he ſays it was *not* final. He proceeds—" And his Lordſhip tells us, that pay-" ing *obedience to a power* is not *an acknowledgment of that* " *power.*" Now what manner of reaſoning is this?

Mr. Foſter argues here that, *paying an obedience* to a power, IS an *acknowledgment* of that power. Conſequently, therefore, as Ireland *did* actually *pay obedience* to that power, he eſtabliſhes, by *his own* reaſoning, that Ireland *did acknowledge* that power or authority. So that, while he attempts to prove that Lord *Caſtlereagh* maintained the *acknowledgment* of this authority, *he* eſtabliſhes it upon his *own* arguments: whereas Lord *Caſtlereagh* makes a clear and ſound diſtinction, without any confuſion or caſuiſtry whatever, but which is warranted in truth and fact—that Ireland *did pay obedience* to an *aſſumed* authority, but did NOT *acknowledge* it as a *juſt* right. And upon this principle, and this ground only, the adjuſtment of 1782 took place. Thus you ſee, Mr. Foſter ſubſtantiates by his arguments that charge expreſly againſt himſelf, which he brought againſt Lord Caſtlereagh: but to which his Lordſhip took exception, and which exception Mr. F. reſiſted, maintaining, that *paying* obedience and *acknowledgment* of a power were one and the ſame thing. Here Mr. Foſter, however, holds up a falſe principle in the Law of Nations; whereas Lord Caſtlereagh argues againſt it with the able diſcrimination of a Publiciſt. Ireland, ſays his Lordſhip, loſt its juſt and *ſole* legiſlative juriſdiction, but it never loſt its right. So too ſays the law; and ſo ſays the maxim of that great Publiciſt, Vattel: " If " any Sovereign Power be ſtripped unjuſtly of its authority " by an uſurper, it ſtill preſerves its right." (Book II, chap. 12.)

But follow Mr. Foſter a little further, and you will ſee, when Gentlemen endeavour to ſupport what is not ſupportable, that not only facts and authority, but their very words and arguments contradict them.

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Mr. Foſter has attempted to maintain, that Lord Caſtlereagh's explanation of "*paying obedience* to a power" was "an *acknowledgment* of that power."——Now, it may be aſked here—Did Ireland *pay obedience?* becauſe, if it did,—unqueſtionably, according to Mr. Foſter's argument, it *acknowledged* that power. If Mr. Foſter therefore will not deny, (and I am ſure he will not,) that it *did* pay obedience; conſequently he cannot deny his own argument that it *acknowledged* that power. Now if it *acknowledged* that power, he will not, I expect alſo, deny his own words in the next ſentence—"The meaſures of that year aroſe out of "the *diſavowal* of that power:" yet, in the preceding ſentence, he maintains, paying obedience to a power is an *acknowledgment* of that power; and in two ſentences from this, he maintains,—Ireland's "*denial* of the Britiſh claim." So that while Mr. Foſter in one breath is *paying obedience* to a power, he is *acknowledging* it; and, while in another, he is *paying obedience*, he is *diſavowing* it; and, while he is *acknowledging*, he is *denying* it. This is logical preciſion, clearneſs of reaſoning, and accuracy of facts.

FIFTH POINT.—*Is it neceſſary to reject an Union?*

The next point that Mr. Foſter aims at, is to ſhew the abſolute *neceſſity* of rejecting an Union. There is ſcarcely an argument, however, made uſe of by him againſt an Union, that is not a logical demonſtration of its *neceſſity*.

He details, in frightful exhibition for the electric ſpirit of Iriſh patriotiſm, the loſs of liberty, the loſs of independence, and the loſs of the purſe, together with the loſs of Parliament. To theſe four principal exceptions of Mr. Foſter, which are formidable if they were founded, I ſhall give a ſhort but diſtinct anſwer. Firſt, as to the loſs of liberty by an Union—I recur to the only proof we can have on this occaſion,—that of example. I aſk, therefore, is Scotland enſlaved by the Union? certainly not.—Scotland, as a nation, is as free as England. And, with reſpect to

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individuals, "Union has broken asunder the bands of feudal vassalage," says Mr. Dundas; under whose chains the people groaned. The application is obvious.

Secondly: As to the loss of independence,—Ireland is at this moment, completely dependant as a nation, in her crown, commerce, revenue, and protection. And, as to the great body of the people, were there is such a frightful distinction in the extremes of opulence and poverty, there must be individual dependence, and all its abject and immoral consequences. Whereas Union will give unrivalled independance to the nation, by an identity in all things with Great Britain. And as to individuals, it will, as it has done, through the uniform results of commerce, in all times and countries, bring back the high, and advance the low in Ireland to that point of political morality, where BOTH will be happy.

Thirdly: As to the loss of the purse, what does it contain? The opulence of a State depends upon the opulence of its individuals. And, according to the unquestionable authority of your near Relative before Parliament, there are above two millions of persons out of three, who are excused through poverty from paying four-pence per annum each to the State.* Union, however, will throw open to industry, all the means and treasures of commerce. Look to Scotland, "and who would wish (says Mr. Dundas,) to change their present situation for all the *pomp* and *poverty* they enjoyed previous to the Union?"

Fourthly: As to the loss of the legislature: Mr. Foster, indeed, may lose his Chair, but the Catholics will gain a PARLIAMENT.—Union will shake off the shackles of hideous distinction from three millions of mankind; it will give power to rights, wealth to poverty, extent to liberty, and happiness to all.

* Speech of Robert Johnson, Esq. May 24, 1795, in the Irish House of Commons. Dublin, printed by Mercier.

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The laſt point relative to the neceſſity of rejecting an Union, is an argument built, firſt, upon effect sby *analogy*: and, ſecondly, upon effects by *aſſumption*.—I muſt obſerve, however, in Mr. Foſter's words to Mr. Flood, "that it "would be abſurd to follow him through all his errors; "many of them the moſt ignorant child would be aſhamed "to advance; but I will point out a few, not perhaps ſo "obvious without examination." (Woodfall's Report, page 107.)

He remarks in his late ſpeech, (page 103)—it is ſtated by Mr. Dundas, that *under Union, the linen trade of Scotland increaſed as one to twenty-three.* But, adds Mr, Foſter, the linen trade of Ireland, without Union, increaſed as one to eighty-eight: then, (aſks Mr. Foſter exultingly,) *has Mr. Dundas any more* SUCH *arguments to produce?*

I anſwer Mr. Foſter, and tell him, that Mr. Dundas produced *no ſuch* argument. And further, I do believe that Mr. Foſter himſelf would not have been ſo uncandid, as to produce this unfair compariſon, had he pauſed a moment for reflection. Did Mr. Dundas enter into *any* comparative view of the Scotch linen trade with the Iriſh? moſt certainly not: yet *Mr. Foſter* details a *compariſon*, and aſks, if Mr. Dundas has any *more ſuch* arguments?

The ſimple fact is this—Mr. Dundas ſtates the increaſe of the Scotch linen trade under the Union, "becauſe linen is "the ſtaple manufacture of Ireland—and becauſe a celebrated "character, (Mr. Foſter,) had *deſcended* ſo far as to *create* an "*alarm* on this ſubject."—(Page 20, Mr. Dundas's ſpeech.) Mr. Dundas's object was to ſhew to the world, that there was *no ground* for Mr. Foſter's *alarm*: becauſe if the linen trade of Scotland increaſed *ſo much* under the Union, how much *more* muſt it increaſe in Ireland, where it is the ſtaple manufacture. We ſee, conſequently, a fact was ſtated, which related ſimply and ſolely to the increaſe of the *Scotch* linen trade.

But what does Mr. Foſter? he perverts this fact into a moſt unfair *compariſon* of the greater portion of Iriſh trade, with

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an infinitely leſs portion of Scotch trade, as to their *paſt* increaſe: I ſay, moſt unfairly; becauſe I ſhall prove it immediately. If he had argued juſtly, he would have ſtated commerce againſt commerce, as I ſhall now do, and convince him, there are *fair* arguments to be produced, which will utterly defeat him on his own ground, though he has, with all the meditation of his ſkill, choſen it out for triumph.—Were, I however, to follow his example, I ſhould tell him, that if we compare the commerce of Ireland in 1707, with only *one* country, which is England; and now with *two*, England and Scotland: which compariſon will give no inconſiderable advantage in his favour; we ſhall find that Iriſh commerce has NOT increaſed, even thus conſidered, as *one* to *ten*; whereas, ſince the ſame date, the linen trade of Scotland has increaſed *with Union*, as *one* to *twenty-three*. (See Table O.)

This is, however, Mr. Foſter's mode of ſtating compariſons by *partial* views.—I decline it. It is altogether unfair in compariſons, and inconcluſive in argument. The plain and juſt queſtion is, how much has the trade of Ireland increaſed ſince 1707 *without Union*; and how much has that of Scotland increaſed *with Union?* With the advantages which we have given Mr. Foſter in the foregoing compariſon, the trade of Ireland has certainly increaſed very conſiderably, —from *one* to *nine*: but the trade of Scotland has increaſed infinitely beyond this—*from* ONE *to* FORTY-TWO. Now, I might fairly aſk Mr. Foſter, has *he* any more *ſuch* arguments to produce? (See Table P.)

Thus we ſee, that his argument *againſt* an Union, upon this ground of *effects* by *analogy*, turns out a demonſtration in *its favour*.—Let us next examine his *effects* upon *aſſumption*, and try his force in that quarter.

When I aſked if Mr. Foſter had any more ſuch arguments to produce as his laſt, I was aware that he advances amidſt hoſts of ſimilar array;—but they are, like modern *Conſcripts*, unfriendly to the cauſe.

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Two, however, of his choſen ſupports againſt Union, appear formidable;—the ſplendor of TALENTS, and the power of all-deſtroying TIME. With the one, he would guide and grace his triumph over Union; and, by the other, hollow out an abyſs, to ingulph it in for ever.——Let us, however, advance, and meet him upon the ground whereon he attempts this.

Mr. Foſter ſays, if an Union takes place, all Talents will paſs away from Ireland. But here I aſk, and not without a tribute of mourning for the cauſe of an injured empire and the keen ſufferings of departed genius—what has baniſhed, during ages, from Ireland talents that have enlightened and adorned other nations? Was it an Union? No;—it was Diſunion, civil and religious Diſunion; a political poiſon, for which, I truſt, we have found out the antidote. It was by this diſgraceful and impolitic Diſunion, the Arms of Spain, the brow of Auſtria, and the throne of France, have been crowned with laurels, gathered by Iriſh hands. Was it by Union, that talents of another order, and no leſs brilliant, have paſſed from Ireland? Was it thus the Genius of Britain foſtered the ſtrength of Denham, the elegance of Roſcommon, and the talents of Steel? Was it thus the reaſon of Britain was inſtructed, or its fancy amuſed by the wit of Farquhar, the wiſdom of Swift, and the ſweetneſs of Parnell? Was it thus its mind was enlightened by the genius of Goldſmith—its heart touched by the ſentiment of Sterne—or its ſoul exalted by the ſublimity of Burke? No, Sir, there was an attraction in Britain which can never grow up, and flouriſh in Ireland, but under the ſhade of Union. Its widely ſpreading protection will add another monument to that truth, which has been eſtabliſhed ſince the hiſtory of ſcience began—that the feats of *commerce* are the feats of *learning*.

Since the beginning, knowledge has kept pace with wealth, extended with induſtry, and flouriſhed with commerce—ſuch has been its progreſs ſince creation over the globe. The

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Monarchies of Egypt and Aſſyria, the hiſtory of the Phœnicians, the Grecian colonies, the Empire of Rome, and the Eaſt under the Caliphs, all demonſtrate this truth. Thus has knowledge pervaded Europe; always ABANDONING the POOR or impoveriſhed, and uniformly ABIDING with the RICH. We have but to open our eyes, and the proofs ruſh in upon the mind. We behold the ſplendor and opulence of Britiſh commerce attracting and renumerating the genius of the civilized world to day. Will then Mr. Foſter deny, that like cauſes will produce like effects?—If ſo, he may deny the exiſtence of light amidſt the ſplendor of the ſun.

Now let us view Mr. Foſter's argument of Time. He ſays—if the Parliament be removed, it will not be able to *adminiſter* in *time* to the WANTS and WISHES of the people, or to *guard againſt exceſſes* or DISCONTENTS. Does this gentleman argue upon time, without one moment's reflexion? Let him pauſe upon the memory of long generations of his anceſtors, who have paſſed away; and let him anſwer if Parliaments had not *time* to adminiſter to the *wants*, *wiſhes*, and *woes* of the labourers, manufacturers, and poor of Ireland? Were not theſe people, and are not their deſcendants at this day badly lodged, ill fed, and worſe clothed, than any other men in the civilized world? Have they not cried to paſt Parliaments, throughout *ages*? And are not ages *time* to adminiſter comforts, which are the juſt and common rights of every member of a civilized community? Have not the people of Ireland expreſſed their *wants* and *wiſhes* in the loud murmurs of *diſcontent*, and all the fury of *exceſs*? Why then have not former Parliaments adminiſtered to their wants and wiſhes, and guarded againſt thoſe exceſſes and diſcontents, throughout ages?——Mr. Foſter will anſwer, *They had not time!*—but who will be ſo weak, as to be deluded by words, when there are ſuch melancholy facts before him?—A nation, bleeding at every pore, appears in the face of heaven, as evidence againſt Mr. Foſter!—but I truſt in God, the *time* is *now* come, when we ſhall act like men, and live like brethren.

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Thus, Sir, I have conſidered all the prominent arguments of Mr. Foſter's ſpeech. And I hope I have eſtabliſhed, as far as moral demonſtration can be founded upon facts, which are intelligible to the meaneſt capacity, and the ableſt cannot controvert; that the trade of Ireland may be *loſt without* an Union—that it muſt be *extended with* an Union—and therefore, that *an Union* is the great charter of Ireland's *political* SALVATION and AGGRANDISEMENT. All aſſertions to the contrary, on the part of Mr. Foſter, I truſt, are fully and fairly confuted. And I muſt here remark, in Mr. Foſter's own words, that upon this ſubject, he has indeed "obſerved "largely, but nothing was ever ſo miſtated, miſrepreſented, "miſunderſtood." There are certain miſtatements, however, that are irreconcileable. The moſt able and honeſt men, indeed, may have different opinions upon one and the ſame ſubject: but that one and the ſame individual ſhould ſupport different opinions with himſelf, on the ſame point, is ſcarcely to be credited.

Yet you have ſeen before how Mr. Foſter, in 1785, told the Iriſh Parliament, in confirmation of his object then, that there were NO COALS in Ireland. And in the year 1799, he tells them, in confirmation of his object—there *are* coals.

Mr. Foſter, in the year 1785, gravely admoniſhed the Parliament, and informed them, that they could never have ſalt, bark, or hops, but through the medium of Great Britain.—In 1799, he promiſes them ſalt, bark, and hops, through other mediums.

Mr. Foſter, in 1785, menaced Ireland with the war of bounties from Britain.—In 1799, he inſpirits Ireland to ſcoff at the war, and deſires Britain to beware of its war of bounties.

Mr. Foſter, in 1785, told the Iriſh nation, that the linen trade depended upon Engliſh protection,—In 1799, he tells them, it is no ſuch thing.

Mr. Foſter, in 1785, cautioned the manufacturers, merchants, and northern landlords of Ireland, to ſecure their trade and rents by a ſolemn compact.—In 1799, he threatens po-

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verty, and loſs of liberty, if their trade and rents be firmly ſecured by a compact, infinitely ſuperior in ſubſtance, though not the ſame in form.

Mr. Foſter, in 1785, told Ireland, that the bounty ſyſtem was unjuſtly in its *favour*.—In 1799, he tells Ireland that it is an unequal encouragement *againſt* it.

Mr. Foſter, in 1785, ſhewed that the linen manufacture of Ireland depended upon Britain, by the ruin of its ſail cloth branch when Britiſh bounties were withdrawn.—In 1799, he aſſerts, that the Iriſh manufacture is not dependent on Britiſh bounties, or Britiſh diſcretion.

Mr. Foſter, in 1785, proved, that the trade of Ireland muſt be extended, and new manufactures eſtabliſhed, by a compact with Britain.—In 1799, he aſſerts, that it is radically impoſſible under any compact.

Mr. Foſter, in 1785, ſaid, there were *no* markets *under heaven* for the Iriſh linens but Britain.—In 1799, he ſays, there are *other* markets.

Mr. Foſter, in 1785, gravely told the Parliament of Ireland, that the very *exiſtence* of that nation depended on its beneficial connection and commerce with Britain.—In 1799, he aſſerts upon evidence, which *he* has ſtated, that this connexion is much *more beneficial* to Britain.—This evidence, however, proves to be but a tiſſue of miſconceptions, interwoven with miſtatements. I have examined it with pain, and often with ſurpriſe; it contains falſe policy, falſe law, falſe reaſoning, falſe rhetoric;—it is a work of melancholy error, and fraught with bad practical conſequences.

Upon a queſtion, however, the moſt ſolemn in its reſults, and which involves the fate of an empire, and of millions in the remoteſt regions of the Globe; all paſſion and prejudice muſt be put down. Solid and ſober Reaſon ſhould ſpeak with its profoundeſt voice, and be guided by its moſt comprehenſive combinations. This is not a buſineſs of Party, nor of Oppoſition:—it is the cauſe of a bleeding world; it is judgment upon the queſtion of our exiſtence. Is the

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Empire to ſtand or fall? For, if the kingdoms do NOT UNITE—they SEPARATE. And ſhould that awful day arrive, it dates the death-warrant of Ireland, and decides, perhaps, the ultimate fate of Britain.

As to Ireland, the caſe is obvious:—it *cannot* ſubſiſt without connexion. If not connected with *Britain*, it *muſt* be connected with ſome other power. Ireland, however, has grown up and flouriſhed, under the ſhelter of the *Britiſh Oak*:—but, if engraffed upon the French tree of liberty, one of two events muſt follow.—It will become a poor, meagre, ſtunted arm, that will wither of itſelf, or be cut off and caſt away to periſh, according to French intereſt, or French caprice.——Or, it may become, perhaps, a vigorous member of France, or a ſtrong and noxious excreſcence replete with poiſon, and emitting peſtilential vapours, deadly to its neighbouring Britain. In order to ſave herſelf, therefore, Britain *muſt* lopp it off for ever.

It is the policy of preſervation.—View that remarkable declaration of deſtruction towards nations, which was drawn up by *Condorcet*, and preſented by the Aſſembly to the King.—It ſtates, that the French "do not mean to attack territories "by *Fire* and *Sword*, but by what will be MORE DREADFUL "*—the introduction of FRENCH LIBERTY.*"

I truſt, however, that the Parliament of Ireland will ſave its Country, invigorate the Empire, and immortalize itſelf by an incorporation with the Britiſh Legiſlature; and ſoon remove the exiſting monuments of human miſery in Ireland; under the unrivalled and widely diffuſed liberties of a conſtitution the moſt perfect; amidſt ſcenes of nature the moſt fertile; and means of opulence beyond calculation.

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I truſt, notwithſtanding Mr. Foſter's oppoſition, that the Parliament of Ireland, thus *incorporated*, will check the gaze of millions upon thoſe raviſhed rights, which had been given to them by God and Nature. But the with-holding of which has long marked out the grounds for diſſention, kindled the flames of tumult; and has enabled inhuman traitors to madden the people into exceſs, deſpair, rebellion.

I truſt, alſo, notwithſtanding Mr. Foſter, that through the wiſdom of the preſent Parliament of Ireland, neither the zeal of *humble induſtry*, nor the ſplendor of *exalted talents*, will be ſeen henceforth to paſs into foreign lands, among unoppreſſed people.

The people of Ireland, however, have *not been* oppreſſed by the Government:—I proteſt againſt the aſſertion. But, I repeat it, the barbarous ſpirit of feudal times looked *down* upon the cottage, and imperiouſly *above* the throne:—and thus the government was *governed*, and its ſubjects were ſlaves. This it was, Sir, which furniſhed you with a ſpectacle, that you have well deſcribed to be "ſuch as humanity muſt de-"plore, and philoſophy regret;"* for *hence* "the people were "divided and ferocious:" *hence* "the gentry ignorant and "corrupt:" *hence* "the ariſtocracy inſolent and overbearing": *hence* "theſe evils overſpread a ſeemingly devoted land: and "religious feuds and political animoſities divided the nation." Let us, therefore, bear in mind what I have before eſtabliſhed upon the proofs of ages and nations, that, as commerce enriched, knowledge enlightened mankind. Let us remember, that through commerce, the lordly yoke of feudal tyranny has been broken throughout Europe, KINGS *freed* from tyranny, and PEOPLE from OPPRESSION. Let us be aſſured,

* "Letter on an Union," by William Johnſon, Eſq. Member of the Iriſh Parliament—Lond. Edit. page. 5.

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that if Union be loſt, the commerce of Ireland is loſt: that if Union be eſtabliſhed, the commerce of Ireland is eſtabliſhed; and upon a firm baſis for incalculable improvement. And it cannot be too often repeated, and impreſſed upon the heart and mind of the Iriſh nation, that it is through *commerce*, and *only* through commerce, the *barbarous ſpirit* of feudal power will *finally depart* from Ireland.—*Thus* will the old and *corrupt body* of *civil* defects find a SEPULCHRE in the UNION.

I am, Dear Sir, &c. &c.

THOMAS B: CLARKE.

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APPENDIX.

TABLE A.

Mr. FOSTER's STATEMENT.

Raw Materials—Beef, Butter, &c. supplied by Ireland to Britain	£. 2,910,724
Ditto by Britain to Ireland	447,277
Excefs of Supply to Ireland	£. 2,463,447

TABLE B.

An Account of the Value of Raw Materials imported from Ireland into Great Britain, on an average of the laft Three Years. [No. 4. Thomas Irving, Inſpector General.]

	Real Value.
Copper Ore	£. 3,196
Ditto, unwrought	4,848
Feathers for Beds	8,727
Flax, rough	1,260
Hides, Ox or Cow	66,375
Kelp	7,462
Seeds, Rape	10,900
Skins, Calf, raw	43,293
Total	£. 146,061

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Raw Materials [No. 5. Inſpector General]	
From Great Britain - - - -	447,477
From Ireland, as above - - - -	146,064
In favour of Ireland	£. 301,413

TABLE C.

[No, 15. Thomas Irving, Inſpector General.]

An Account of the true Value of the Products and Manufactures of Ireland imported into Great Britain annually, on an average of the laſt Three Years	£. 5,510,825
Ditto of Great Britain with Ireland	2,087,672
Annual Balance in favour of Ireland	£. 3,423,153

(Signed) THOMAS IRVING,
Inſpector-General of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain.
March 5, 1799.

TABLE D.

[No. 16. Thomas Irving, Inſpector General,]

Total Value of Imports into Great Britain from Ireland, on an average of Three years preceding 5th Jan. 1799. - - -	£. 5,612,689
Ditto of Exports from Great Britain to Ireland	3,555,845
Annual exceſs of Balance in favour of Ireland	£. 2,056,844

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TABLE E.

Annual Amount of Revenues to Ireland from Britiſh Commerce, on an Average of three years preceding March 25, 1798. [Lord Auckland on the Union, Table 6. extracted from the Official Accounts. - -		£. 691,679
Annual Medium of four years Bounties from Great Britain to Iriſh Linens, [Thomas Irving, Inſpector General, No. 17.] - -		34,783
Imports from Ireland to Great Britain, [Thomas Irving, Inſpector General, No. 16.] -		5,612,689
Total		£. 6,339.151

Revenues of Great Britain from Iriſh Commerce, on an annual Medium of Four Years preceding Jan. 5, 1799, [Thomas Irving, Inſpector General, No. 17.] - - - - -	£. 40,911	
Bounties as above - -	34,783	
Remaining pfofit to Revenue	6,128	
Total Value of Exports from Great Britain to Ireland, on an average of three years preceding March 25, 1799, [Thomas Irving, Inſpector General, No. 16.] -	3,555,845	
Total		£. 3,561,973
Balance in favour of Ireland -		£. 2,777,178

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TABLE F.

No. 12, Official Accounts.

A List of the principal Articles of the Produce and Manufacture of Ireland, which, in the year 1792, were favoured in the Duties on Importation from that Kingdom, together with the Rate of Duty on each Article imported from thence; and also on the like Articles imported from Foreign Countries: Likewise a List of such principal Articles, as were in the above period, prohibited from being imported from Foreign Countries, but which might be imported from Ireland.

The Produce of	*Ireland.* £. s. d.	*Other Countries.* £. s. d.
Bacon, per cwt.	free	2 7 0
Beef	free	prohibited
Butter, per cwt.	free	0 2 6
Cattle	free	prohibited
Flax dreſſed, per cwt.	free	5 4 6
Hemp ditto, ditto	free	2 4 0
Ditto, undreſſed ditto	free	0 3 8
Any ſort of Flax whatever, or of Hemp the Produce of Ireland, and all the production thereof, as Thread, Yarn, and Linen, the Manufacture of Ireland, imported directly from thence	free	0 0 0
Hides, Cow or Ox, undreſſed, the Hide	free	0 0 9
Iron, unwrought, per ton	1 10 10	2 16 2

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Ditto, flit or hammered into Rods, per cwt. -	from	0	4	5	from	9	11
	to	0	9	11	to	10	3
Linen, under 22½ inches in breadth, the 120 ells - -	free					0	16	5
Ditto, between 22½ & 31½ do. do.	free					1	4	7
Ditto, ditto 31½ & 36 do. do.	free	from				1	16	11
		to				3	1	5
Ditto, above 36 do. do.	free	from				3	9	11
		to				4	14	5
Damask Tabling, per yard -	free	from				0	1	3
		to				0	10	4
Diaper ditto, ditto -	free	from				0	1	1
		to				0	4	8
Towelling and Napkining, per 120 ells - - -	free	from				0	15	8
		to				14	7	6
Plain Linen, not otherwise enumerated or described, per cent. ad valorem - -	free					33	6	8
Chequered, striped, painted, stained or dyed Linen, per cent. ad valorem - - - -		49	10	0		80	4	2
Pitch and Tar, the last of 12 barrels		0	11	0		0	12	5
Pork - - -	free				prohibited			
Rosin, per cwt. - -		0	1	6		0	2	3
Sail Cloth, the 120 Ells -	free	from				2	1	9
		to				3	16	1
Seed, Rape, the last, - -		0	1	0		6	12	6
Sheep - - - -	free				prohibited			
Skins, Calve, per dozen -	free					0	2	9
Thread, the Pound Weight, -	free	from				0	0	1
		to				0	2	9
Wood, viz. Planks, the 100 feet		0	2	9		1	19	8
Yarn, viz. Cotton, the Pound Weight	free					0	0	3½
Woollen or Bay, per cwt.	free					0	14	8

W. SIMS, D. Col,

T. Richardson, Comp.

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TABLE G.

A List of Articles which in the Year 1792 were favoured on Exportation to Ireland, together with the Rate of Duty to which such Articles were subject, and also the Rate of Drawback and Bounty to which these Articles were entitled on Exportation to that Kingdom, and also to Foreign Countries; likewise a List of such principal Articles as in the above Period were prohibited from being exported to Foreign Countries, but which might be exported to Ireland.

Duties Outwards.	*To Ireland.* £. s. d.	*Other Countries* £. s. d.
Coals—Per Chaldron, Winton measure	0 1 2	—
To any British Plantation in America	—	0 2 3
To any other place in British ships, the Newcastle Chaldron - -		0 15 5
To ditto, in foreign ships, ditto -		1 7 6
The Ton weight - -	0 0 9	—
To any British Plantation in America, the Ton Weight - -		0 1 0
To any other Place in British ships, do. -		0 5 2
To ditto, in foreign ships, do. - -		0 9 2
Gum Arabic, Gum Senegal, Thirty Tons per ann.	—	1 13 4 / 0 5 10

Bounties Outwards.		
Sugar, Refined, the Bounty (per cwt. in whole Loaves and Lumps) of allowed on the Exportation to Ireland, when on account of the Average Price, it is discontinued to Foreign Countries, except the British Dominions - -	1 6 0 —	—
Ditto, Ditto, (per Cwt. in Loaves broken in pieces) ditto	0 15 0	

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Drawbacks Outwards.

Silk, Organzine, or Thrown, in the Gum, the lbs.	-	-	0	6	11	0	6 5
Raw the lbs.	-	-	0	2	10	0	2 0
Thrown, Dyed	-	-	1	2	3	1	1 9
Tea, (per Cwt.)	-	-	5	0	0	—	

Goods prohibited to Foreign Countries, but permitted to be exported to Ireland.

Coin—Of Gold and Silver

Tools or Utenſils—Uſed in the Cotton or Linen Manufactures, and alſo in the Woollen, Silk, Iron, and Steel Manufactures

Wool Cards—Exceeding 4s. per pair

Corn—When prohibited in Great Britain, allowed to Ireland, if an Embargo be laid on the Article in that Kingdom

Memorandum—Bounties given by Parliament on Britiſh Ships in the Greenland Fiſhery, allowed for Ships from Ireland: Ships of Ireland allowed all the Privileges of Britiſh Ships.

N. B. The Privileges are very numerous.

T. WILLIMOT, Col.
J. D. HUME, Dep. Compt.

20th February, 1799.

TABLE O.

1707.

The Amount of the Commerce of Ireland with *England only*, according to the official Rate or value - - - £. 569,835

1799.

The Amount of the Commerce of Ireland with *England* and *Scotland*, or Great Britain, on an average of Three preceding Years, according to the *ſame rate*, and Mr. *Foſter's* Statement (p. 77) - - - 5,646,311

*** Increaſe not as *one* to *ten*.

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TABLE P.

SCOTLAND. 1707.

Imports	£.6,733
Exports	47,779
	£. 54,512

SCOTLAND 1797.

Imports	£. 1,037,676
Exports	1,217,121
	£. 2,254,797

INCREASE above 1 to 41.

IRELAND with ENGLAND. 1707.
(According to the Cuſtom-houſe Books.)

Imports	£. 306,423
Exports	263,412
	£. 569,835

IRELAND with GREAT BRITAIN. 1797.
(From the Cuſtom-houſe Books.)

Average of Three Years, to 1799, as ſtated by Mr. Foſter.

Exports	£. 2,775,330
Imports	2,870,981
	£. 5,646,311

INCREASE not as *one* to *ten*.

Here it muſt be obſerved, that there are great advantages, through this compariſon, in favour of Ireland—1ſt, Becauſe in calculating the increaſed ſtate of Trade at the *preſent* period, we reckon upon *two* countries, England and Scotland: whereas, we take its *former* ſtate of trade in 1707, but with one country, England; and 2d, Becauſe the Increaſe with Great Britain is much beyond the increaſe with the reſt of the world. With theſe advantages, however, in favour of Ireland, in this compariſon, what is the increaſe?—not 1 to 10; whereas, that of Scotland, is above 1 to 41.

FINIS.

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AN

EXPOSITION

OF THE PRINCIPAL

TERMS OF UNION,

AND ITS

PROBABLE EFFECTS

ON

IRELAND.

"If England loſt her Trade with Ireland, ſhe would loſe only 1-9th of her Trade: but if Ireland loſt her Trade with Great Britain, ſhe would loſe 9-10ths of her Trade." LORD CASTLEREAGH.

Dublin:

PRINTED BY J. MILLIKEN 32, GRAFTON-STREET.

1800.

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PREFACE.

THE following Expoſition of the Terms of Union, and its probable effects on Ireland, is particularly addreſſed to the middle claſs of the community.

THIS country has been moving for theſe two or three laſt years to a political criſis—one event, deſtructive of peace, property, and ſafety, was turned aſide by the vigilance of government—to give a firm ſecurity and laſting tranquillity to the ſtate it is now neceſſary to adopt ſome great political meaſure;—that meaſure is another criſis in the affairs of Ireland, and the country

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country is called upon to give her ſober judgment on a Union with Great Britain, (from whoſe loins the Proteſtants of Ireland ſprung,) who protects her in war, who nurſes her commercial ability in peace, and without whoſe powerful aid, Ireland would probably at this moment have conſtituted a Province of the French Republid, experiencing all the bleſſings of unprincipled tyranny, and expiring under the gratifying weig ht of perpetual requiſition.

To give the poor man his bread in peace —to give the artiſt the price of his ingenuity—to give the manufacturer occupation—to give the merchant opportunity—to give the rich ſecurity—and to give all content, ſome meaſure productive of *ſettled tranquillity* muſt be adopted.—Great Britain propoſes a LEGISLATIVE UNION, to conſolidate and render *one* your ſtrength, your

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your resources, and your existence.—Look at the ruinous divisions of your country;—look at the insanity of your political reformists;—look at their bias and tendency to separation;—look how absolutely necessary the power and commercial ability of Great Britain is to your prosperity;—look at the proposal she makes, and remember your decision will involve not alone *your* happiness, but the happiness of *your latest posterity*.

March,
1800.

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AN

EXPOSITION,

&c. &c.

THAT a propoſal of ſuch magnitude as a Legiſlative Union between Great Britain and Ireland ſhould occaſion agitation in the public mind, is not aſtoniſhing; but upon this, as upon all ſubjects of political importance, when reaſon returns, and inveſtigates coolly and deliberately the point propoſed, difficulties ſeem to vaniſh, and what before appeared inſurmountable, is clearly ſeen, as we advance in the enquiry, not only to be eaſily accompliſhed, but that its accompliſhment offers new ſcenes for induſtrious exertion and profitable eſtabliſhment.—Every man who

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has travelled knows that when his road lies over a mountain he regards it at a diſtance as almoſt inacceſſible; but as he approaches the difficulties ſeem to ſink before him; he is ſurpriſed at finding the aſcent ſo eaſy, and the labour of the journey is amply repaid by the rich and extended proſpect before him.

THE queſtion of Union, as was naturally to be expected, created infinite clamour; the loweſt can reprobate without reaſon; and as the paſſions had ſo fine a field for diſplay, they were not allowed to lie dormant;—the public mind has indeed been ſucceſsfully rouſed, and the queſtion has had this good effect, that it has called forth the reflective talents of the land:—the ſubject has been canvaſſed with the very ſpirit of freedom, and no one inſtance has occurred in which the government of the country has ſtepped forward to ſuppreſs (as at another period it would have been bound to do) the dangerous floods of licence and of faction which have been poured from the preſs.

GOVERNMENT were right—ſuch a meaſure could not be too freely diſcuſſed; the more it is truly known, the more its *neceſſity* will be admitted, for if a ſtrong meaſure had not been compelled by the ſtrong efforts of faction and deſperate democracy to ſeparate Ireland from England, a Legiſlative Union would not

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not at this day have been an abſolutely neceſſary policy for the preſervation of the connexion.

At firſt it was ſaid the Parliament was not competent to enact for the ſalvation of the Proteſtant power in this land; but driven from that feeble hold the oppoſition then appealed to the paſſions of the people—they fled from the knowledge of the Parliament to the ignorance of the community, and found their reward in the huzzas of a mob.

At length the *terms of Union* have been ſubmitted to the repreſentative body, and to the nation at large; they were ſtated to the Houſe with ſingular perſpicacity, and they are now before the people of Ireland, not for deciſion, for the Parliament is the conſtitutional voice of the land, but for their ſerious and ſober inveſtigation;—let us then deliberately, without prejudice, without paſſion, without party, look into the terms of Union propoſed by Great Britain; if they are found liberal, we cannot heſitate; if they require modification, the Parliament can modify, can alter, can improve—but Union is *neceſſary*, and our duty is to ſecure the beſt conditions:—it is not like a beſieged citadel that muſt ſurrender at diſcretion—no—you can hold out; you can negociate the terms of admiſſion upon equality of right, and upon the power of poſſeſſion; you can ſafely refuſe this, alter that, and in ſhort

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ſhort new model the whole, if the whole upon inveſtigation ſhould appear defective to the end propoſed; but ſtill that end muſt, for our own good, be kept in view; it is a negociation between two men of equal right but not of equal power, yet whoſe *united* ſtrength is reciprocally eſſential to the well-being of both, but particularly ſo to him who is naturally the moſt feeble; this Union of ſtrength is the guardian of his exiſtence, while to the being of the ſtronger it gives additional ſecurity. It is a matrimonial contract, where there is a complete community of goods, and where the ſtronger is bound, not only by the written terms, but for his own happineſs, to nouriſh and protect the weaker veſſel;—it is a partnerſhip for reciprocal benefit, where the parties conjoin their capital and their induſtry for the attainment of preſent ſecurity from want, and of future wealth for themſelves and their poſterity;—it is a perpetual peace, agreed and ratified between two powerful and jealous neighbours, in which the intereſts of both are eternally ſecured, and the tranquillity of both eternally confirmed;—it is a peace which enables the huſbandman to ſow in ſafety and to reap in ſecurity; in which the artiſan may work undiſturbed and enjoy the honeſt fruits of his labour; in which Science may flouriſh, and ſhelter her children from the benumbing blaſts of penury; in which Commerce, moving *by right* under the protection of power, muſt expand her wings, and

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and viſit with confidence, with ſafety, and with profit the remoteſt regions of the globe; —it is the ſhield raiſed by the arm of Minerva for the ſupport and protection of national liberty; it is the Ægis of reaſon, deſtructive of democratic daring, and inſtrumental to the happineſs of man!

I HAVE called it a political marriage—it is ſo—and death alone can diſſolve the contract. In this point of view it appears advantageous to Ireland, for ſhe is the weaker veſſel, and although ſhe brings a great connexion along with her, yet her portion of property is trifling compared to the riches, the poſſeſſions, and the immenſe power of her huſband.

LET us look into this ſubject; let us examine the *population* and *trade* of Great Britain, and the population and trade of Ireland; let us place the one oppoſite the other, and ſee on whoſe ſide the benefit of Union will be conſpicuous; let us then examine the *terms* propoſed by Britain to accompliſh that Union, and let every honeſt man who already poſſeſſes property, and every induſtrious man who is endeavouring to acquire it, calmly and coolly look into the ſtatement, and convince himſelf whether by Union his property would be ſecured to himſelf and his poſterity,

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rity, and his induſtry more certain of its merited reward.

Population of Great Britain,	9,000,000
Population of Ireland,	4,000,000
Difference in favour of Britain,	5,000,000

I TAKE the population of Great Britain at nine millions; it has been calculated at ten.—I take the population of Ireland at four millions; it has been called five—and Dr. Duigenan with laborious ingenuity makes it but three—truth may lie between.—Mr. Buſhe was indefatigable in his endeavours as preciſely as poſſible to aſcertain the point; his public ſtation gave him great opportunity; he had returns repeatedly from every pariſh in the kingdom, and in the year 1788, his calculation exceeded the number I adopt in forty thouſand ſouls. In the laſt twelve years of proſperity the progreſs of population muſt have greatly increaſed, notwithſtanding the war with France, and the recent partial rebellion.—I adopt the medium number as the moſt reaſonable; here then, we find that in four millions uniting for ſocial ſecurity with nine millions, Ireland has an advantage of more than two to one over Great Britain; and by the conſolidation of their phyſical power, ſhe has treble ſecurity for her property and her peace; ſhe has the ſecurity of

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of her own phyſical force, to which is ſuperadded the double phyſical force of Great Britain.—It is, therefore, palpable that the conſolidation of the population of the two countries would be decidedly advantageous to Ireland, in as much as three are numerically ſuperior to one.

THE commerce of Great Britain is immenſe; protected by the moſt powerful navy that ever was known, it moves in the midſt of war from port to port and from clime to clime, with all the ſafety and punctuality of peace;—hence the inexhauſtible ability of Great Britain to continue a conteſt which has for its object the preſervation of ſocial order, not only in Europe, but in every regulated ſtate in the world.—Her trade is univerſal, and its increaſe, aſcertained by public record, is not to be paralleled in the hiſtory of any other commercial country. Let us look for a moment at the rapidity of its progreſs.

In 1697, her imports and exports produced - -	£.7,008,492
In 1783, they produced	27,803,729
In 1798, they produced	59,454,000

LET us now examine the actual ſtate of Iriſh commerce:

Her

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Her exports to *all the world*, taken on an average of the years 1796, 1797, and 1798, produce a total of - -		£.4,691,634
Her imports from *all the world*, taken on the ſame average, produce, - - -		4,297,812
Total annual produce,		8,989,446
Of which ſum her exports to *Britain* and *her colonies* amounted to - -	£.4,175,166	
And her imports from *Britain* and *her colonies* amounted to	3,546,762	
Making a total of -		7,721,928
And thus the Iriſh commerce with *all the reſt of the world*, produces but - -		1,267,518

THE above is a fair ſtatement of the *general* trade of Ireland, and proves, that for 7-8ths of it ſhe depends upon the conſumption of Great Britain and her colonies.—What then, would be the conſequence were ſhe to loſe theſe markets!—It is alſo to be obſerved, that of all the *foreign** merchandize which Ireland imports,

* Britain not included.

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imports, and which, on the given average, produces - - - £.2,080,387

Of that ſum there is imported through the *medium* of *Britain*, 1,205,952

And this fact proves entirely and completely the *neceſſity* of Britiſh capital to Iriſh commerce.

With reſpect to the *particular* but ſuperior branch of Iriſh commerce, the linen manufacture, the ſtatement of another fact will place it in its true point of view before the eye of every man who reads with an impartial ſpirit, and who wiſhes to direct his judgment by the beſt information.

By the report of the Britiſh Inſpector General, it appears that the *total export* of linens from Ireland, upon an average of ſeven years to 1798, amounted annually to - - - *Yards.* 41,690,659

Of which Britain and her colonies took - - 36,908,574

And the reſt of the world 4,782,085

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THIS fact proves more than volumes the value of the Britiſh market to Iriſh manufacture.—It has been vaguely ſaid by Mr. Foſter, that if Iriſh linen were prohibited from Britiſh ports, it is impoſſible to foreſee what ports it *may* find;—this is a dangerous inſinuation, and tends to encourage the idea of *ſeparate* intereſt;—let every rational man judge for himſelf.

THE foregoing ſtatements are not to be controverted; the mercantile part of the community are beginning to open their eyes to the unanſwerable evidence of the extended official details which have been laid before them, but there is an honeſt and induſtrious claſs of the people who have no time for lengthened inveſtigation;—it is to them particularly that this ſhort and plain ſtatement is directed; they are ſeriouſly warned not to be the tools of party, but to liſten to reaſon, and be directed by their own intereſt.

THE neceſſity of the Britiſh market (which embraces her colonies) to Iriſh export has been ſhewn; the neceſſity of Britiſh capital to the *foreign* imports of Ireland has been proved; we all know the connexion between the two countries has been recently threatened, and was very nearly put to the chance of a die: ſeeing the advantage of Britain to Ireland, and knowing that it is impoſſible for Britain

to

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to reſign the connexion into other hands, let any Iriſhman of common ſenſe exerciſe his reaſon, and he will feel and acknowledge that an *entire political incorporation* of the two kingdoms is the only effectual means to continue for ever to Ireland the Britiſh market, and to place the connexion on ſo firm a baſis as that nothing but the utter ruin of both ſhall hereafter be able to diſſolve the Union.

Some perſons have affected to compare the preſent queſtion with the American diſpute, but they bear not the ſmalleſt analogy. America, or right or wrong, contended againſt the legiſlative ſupremacy of Great Britain; but Ireland has no ſuch conteſt, her independent legiſlative is ſupreme, and it is called upon by the Sovereign of both countries, in its ſupreme legiſlative capacity to enact a meaſure which has, and can only have for its object, the proſperity of the united kingdoms, and the indiviſibility of the Empire.

It is a ſimple propoſition:—will you, ſays Great Britain, politically unite with us in order to ſecure that connexion which you have ſo often and ſo ſolemnly declared to be eſſential to your exiſtence?—Our being is ſo interwoven with yours, that ſeparation would inevitably deſtroy or one, or the other, or both;

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both; attempts have been made, and the ſtrength of a moſt powerful people has been encouraged to tear us aſunder; happily for us both the plan proved abortive! Providence, as it were, interfered, and we are now recovered from the apprehenſion of immediate danger; it behoves us cordially to prepare againſt any future ſimilar attempt; we all ſee *the open* that encouraged our enemies to conſpire againſt us; while *that open* remains our danger continues; we cannot always calculate upon the winds of heaven for our ſafety; it is the province of wiſdom to foreſee and to prevent; we, therefore, the Legiſlature of Britain, propoſe finally to ſhut up every interſtice in our political fabric that may admit an enemy; we propoſe UNION, ENTIRE AND COMPLETE, as the only human means to prevent SEPARATION; this in itſelf is a conſummation which you have often devoutly wiſhed; Union will accompliſh that conſummation—for Ireland blended into the being of Britain they muſt ſtand or fall together.—We know our ſuperiority in population, manufacture commerce, riches, but we alſo know that your coalition is neceſſary to our ſafety, and we therefore feel that our Union to be laſting muſt be liberal; we are one in conſtitution, and you ſay one in intereſt, we propoſe for ever to fix this unity by having for both kingdoms *one Parliament*;

it

it is poſſible for two ſeparate independent powers to differ in action, that difference might prove deſtructive to their mutual intereſt, Union will prevent this poſſibility, and therefore Union is politically neceſſary for the ſecurity of the connexion. In our Union with Scotland ſhe was content with a repreſentation of ſixteen Peers and forty-five Commoners; we propoſe that you ſhall be repreſented in the united Parliament by thirty-two Peers and one hundred Commoners; but this has been oppoſed upon the ground that the numbers bear no juſt proportion to the numbers conſtituting the two ſimilar branches of Britiſh legiſlature; numerically this is true, but repreſentation conſtitutionally looks to property, and on that principle we calculate; we ſhall preſently ſhew that your proportion of taxation cannot be effected by your proportion of repreſentatives. We propoſe to unite the churches of Great Britain and Ireland for ever into one, by which means the Proteſtant Aſcendancy in Ireland will be fixed upon a rock. We propoſe to make the two people one in point of trade and navigation in their reſpective ports and dependencies, and that their privileges ſhall be the ſame in all foreign ſtates. We propoſe that prohibitions and bounties on export between the two countries ſhall ceaſe, and that all goods, (ſome few articles excepted) the produce and manufacture

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manufacture of either country ſhall be imported into the other duty-free. There are leſs points which now lie on the table of your Parliament for conſideration—we paſs them, and come to the great point of taxation, to the ſyſtem of which we beg your candid and impartial attention: but firſt it may be proper to ſtate our idea of the diſpoſition of our mutual debts; we therefore propoſe that each country ſhall pay the principal or intereſt of her own exiſting debt ſeparately, and that all loans hereafter raiſed by the united Parliament ſhall be a joint debt, and the intereſt paid by each country in *proportion* to their reſpective rate of taxation.—We propoſe that for twenty years the taxes ſhall be proportioned as 15l. for Great Britain and 2l. for Ireland; after the expiration of that period the proportion of taxation for each country ſhall be ſtruck from a juſt average of the value of their reſpective exports and imports; or upon a compariſon of the value of their reſpective conſumption of beer, ſpirits, ſugar, wine, tea, tobacco, malt, ſalt, and leather; or upon a compariſon of income, if ſuch tax ſhall previouſly take place in Ireland; and that ſucceeding taxes ſhall be regulated in like manner at periods not more diſtant than twenty, or leſs than ſeven years from each other. We alſo fix that no article in Ireland can be taxed higher than the ſame article

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article ſhall be taxed in England; and when the debts of each country ſhall be liquidated, or when the amount ſhall be to each other in proportion to her reſpective contributions, we propoſe that the united Parliament may then enact equality of taxation.—Of this ſyſtem we take leave to obſerve, that ſuppoſing it to become law no augmented number of repreſentatives from Ireland could reduce the amount of her *proportional* taxation:—it is clear that this ſyſtem of future contribution is juſt and equitable, and muſt remove all the fears of the Iriſh people on, perhaps, the moſt momentous branch of this imperial arrangement—for it fixes the proportion of their taxation for the firſt twenty years of the Union ſo low as one to ſeven-one-half, after that period it taxes them *according to their ability*, and that ability aſcertained by irrefragable proof, *i. e.* the proof of their own trade or actual conſumption; and laſtly it ſecures the continuance of taxation *according to ability*, till that ability has enabled you to liquidate your debt, and by conſequence till your general proſperity gives you ſtrength and power to ſtand with Great Britain, in *proportion* to your population and proſperity, on equality of taxation. Theſe are the leading terms on which we offer to unite for ever our political exiſtence with you; a part of you urge we are already united, but where

Union

Union is theoretical ſeparation may be real. We acknowledge with candour that you are neceſſary to our ſafety, and we conclude from proof that we are neceſſary to your commercial proſperity and to your conſtitutional being. We again mention your grand ſtaple, your Linen; we call upon you to ſecure for ever the poſſeſſion of our market and our colonies for its conſumption; we wiſh not to act on the ruinous policy of prohibition; we wiſh to deſtroy the very poſſibility of ſuch policy by deſtroying the poſſibility of commercial jealouſy and conſtitutional ſeparation;—we have nurſed this your noble manufacture from its infancy to its actual ſtrength and vigour; to boaſt of our liberality would be ungenerous, but we may with a modeſt and becoming pride record the fact, in order that it may operate upon the cool and honeſt Iriſhman who wiſhes the proſperity of his country and the inſeparability of the connexion.—We therefore ſay, that to Britain and to Britain alone you are indebted for your linen manufacture; through her ports and by her bounty the increaſe of its conſumption is ſolely attributable. She receives it duty-free;—in its favour ſhe lays a duty of thirty-three per cent. on foreign linens; and thus ſhe conſumes, or rather ſhe buys from you 7-8ths of your total export.

A CRISIS

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A CRISIS is paſt;—we are floating upon the boſom of another;—we clearly ſee, we are deeply impreſſed with the political neceſſity of our entire incorporation;—we propoſe certain terms of Union; we think them juſt, we think them liberal;—if there ſhould in your judgment appear parts incomplete, we are open to conviction, and willing to reconſider and improve;—our Union is for life, and it is our duty and our intereſt to give you a juſt participation in our power, in our trade, in our eſtabliſhments, and in our capital;—you, too, muſt make ſome ſacrifice—like a virgin that reſigns her maiden honours for the legitimate embrace and neceſſary protection of her natural ſuperior. You ſhall enter the firm upon the moſt honourable footing; you are confeſſedly deficient in point of capital; you cannot therefore expect an equal ſhare,—we offer you an equitable proportion—while you trade on your own bottom you lie open to combination and ruin; our incorporation will give your induſtry its full ſpring, by producing interior tranquillity—and never loſe ſight of this great political truth, that OUR UNION WILL BE THE BEST SECURITY TO YOUR PROPERTY.

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So ſays Britain, and ſhe addreſſes a people who will reflect and decide according to the wiſdom of experience and the evidence of facts. She addreſſes the Proteſtant power, the property of the land, and the Proteſtant will accede, and render his power immoveable, and his property ſecure to his lateſt poſterity.

THE Scotch Union was oppoſed by *prejudice*—ſo is the Iriſh Union.

THE Scotch Union was oppoſed by *party*—ſo is the Iriſh Union.

THE Scotch Union was oppoſed by *paſſion*—ſo is the Iriſh Union.

THE Scotch Union was oppoſed by *pride*—ſo is the Iriſh Union.

THE Scotch Union was enacted by a majority of *thirty-three*—ſo will the Iriſh Union by a majority of *forty-ſeven*.

THE Scotch Union left a *turbulent agitation* on the public mind—ſo will the Iriſh Union.

THIS

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THIS *turbulent agitation* in the Scotch mind broke out into partial inſurrection and petty rebellion—ſo may the agitation in Ireland.

THE partial inſurrections and petty rebellions in Scotland were ſoon ſubdued—ſo will they be in Ireland.

THE Scotch Union at length produced *general tranquillity*—ſo will the Iriſh Union.

IN Scotland *general tranquillity* produced *general induſtry*—ſo will tranquillity act in Ireland.

IN Scotland *occupation* has produced *ſobriety*, and *ſobriety* and *induſtry* joined have given *property*; on property Union has ſet the ſeal of *ſecurity*; and Scotland is now, if not the richeſt, perhaps the happieſt portion of Great Britain.

IN Ireland Union will deſtroy prejudice, party, paſſion, and pride; *induſtry* will produce *ſobriety*, and both will produce *property*, on which UNION will ſet the ſeal of *ſecurity*; her honeſt people will then not be houſed with the ſwine—they will be comfortably lodged,

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lodged, warmly cloathed, and well fed; and they will ſcarcely believe it poſſible that any of their forefathers ſeriouſly oppoſed a meaſure which had produced ſuch happy effects to poſterity.

THE END.

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AN

APPEAL

TO THE

LOYAL CITIZENS

OF

DUBLIN,

BY A FREEMAN

OF

DUBLIN.

PRINTED BY JOHN MILLIKEN, NO. 32, GRAFTON-STREET.

1800.

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TO THE

LOYAL INHABITANTS

OF

DUBLIN.

Friends, and Fellow Citizens,

IF there be any thing that can conciliate attention, or create confidence in the appellations with which I accoſt you, by that I adjure you, to give this addreſs a patient hearing. I have the ſame intereſt with you in the ſubject of which it treats. Do not conclude that, becauſe I may ſee it in a different light from that in which the generality of you ſeem to have conſidered it, I muſt be your enemy. If I am your enemy, I muſt be my own enemy, the enemy of all that ought to be dear to me. I may, perhaps, be wrong in my opinions; but I can do you no injury, by deſiring you to hear what I have to urge in their favour.

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favour. If I cannot induce you to think with me, you will only be where you are.

I own I cannot ſee the wiſdom or the prudence in liſtening only to one ſide of the queſtion. In what tranſaction of trade, or buſineſs, would any of you think himſelf juſtifiable, if he refuſed to liſten to a matter propoſed to him for his advantage, with an attention equal to its importance, and to weigh well what might be urged for it as well as againſt it? Would it be right in him to conſider it through no other medium than that of prejudice and violence, and paſſion? Or to run the riſk of ſacrificing his own beſt intereſts to the partial and ſelfiſh views of men having a different intereſt from his in the event?

On the advantages, or diſadvantages, of an Union with England, the great bulk of you muſt take the opinions of others. The complicated intereſts that are involved in all ſuch great political queſtions, require a very different line of application to that which you purſue. The wiſdom of our conſtitution has provided, that all ſuch queſtions ſhould be diſcuſſed and ſettled by your two Houſes of Parliament, adviſing the king's government. One of theſe Houſes, is the creature and the organ of that deſcription of the community, in which you are claſſed; it is peculiarly employed in watching over your intereſts, and providing for what will beſt promote and ſecure them. But, in the preſent queſtion of an Union, the perſons who, in the ſucceſs of the meaſure, foreſaw the deſtruction of a ſyſtem which, for centuries, has ſacrificed the peace and proſperity of the great body of the people of Ireland, to the power and aggrandizement of individuals, would not truſt

their

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their cauſe to the great deliberative counſel, that thus repreſents you, when called upon by the father of his people, to remove this inveterate abuſe, and to provide for the general happineſs, without any regard to the uſurpations of any peculiar deſcription or claſs of men. They knew they could have no chance, if the matter was left to reaſon and argument, and plain ſenſe: And, as it happened, unfortunately, that, from local circumſtances, there was more room for miſrepreſentation in the effects which a Union might have on your city, than on any other part of the kingdom, they directed all their arts and intrigues againſt you. They laboured to ſeparate you from your Parliament; they drove you to take this great queſtion into your own hands, and to decide on it from the impulſe of paſſions, which they had themſelves excited.

To accompliſh the triumph of paſſion over reaſon, and of raſhneſs and precipitancy over caution and deliberation, a few factious words thrown in, as oil to a flame, are ſufficient to produce an effect which it requires a long train of facts, and a lengthened chain of reaſon, to counteract and do away. Hence, "That Dublin muſt be ruined by the Union; its "manufacturers deprived of bread, and its ſhop-"keepers beggared"—Hence, "that graſs ſhould "grow in Sackville-ſtreet; and that we ſhould ſhoot "ſnipes in College-green," has excited an univerſal frenzy from Kilmainham to the Pigeon-houſe; and every oyſter-woman in the ſtreet cries out, that her trade will be ruined, and that Dublin is to be a deſart.

This dreadful calamity is to be the unavoidable effect of the removal of our Parliament—ſo it is boldly aſſerted;

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aſſerted ; but, to give this aſſertion any weight, your agitators ought to prove to you, that the preſent ſtate of your capital in buildings, in population, and in wealth, has been entirely owing to its being the ſeat of Parliament. If they can prove this, the queſtion, no doubt, would be ſoon decided in their favour. But, if no propoſition can be more falſe, or contrary to fact, then all the clamour they have raiſed on that pretext, has been the effect of groſs miſrepreſentation, and an unpardonable abuſe of the confidence you have placed in them.

I will now lay a ground for you to judge of this matter. From a ſurvey made by order of Government in 1753, the increaſe of inhabitants in your city ſince 1711, was ſtated at 32,000. It was immediately after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, that the great increaſe began. No leſs thon 1200 houſes were that year on the Stocks at once. After the Peace of Paris in 1763, the encreaſe was ſtill greater. All this is within living memory. During the whole of theſe periods, and until 1782, the Parliament aſſembled only once in two years. They aſſembled even then only for a very ſhort ſeſſion. Every ſecond winter the Members of either Houſe were under no neceſſity of reſorting to the capital in their character of Legiſlators. They never did reſort to it in that character. Dublin, therefore, did not owe its flouriſhing ſtate to the mere circumſtance of having the ſeat of Parliament within its walls, and to account for it, you muſt look to ſome other cauſes.

Now, I take it, that what theſe cauſes are, it requires no great depth of obſervation to trace. I ſhall claſs

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claſs them as they appear to me, under four principal heads.

1ſt. Till within a period of about fifty years, our chief Noblemen, and our very wealthieſt Commoners, reſided chiefly at their country ſeats, exerciſing hoſpitality, and maintaining a conſtant intercourſe with their friends and neighbours. Very few among them had a ſettled houſe in Dublin. Even the members of Parliament, during the ſhort period of their alternate ſeſſion, contented themſelves with lodgings, or took up their temporary reſidence in thoſe houſes, which, ſince your modern improvements in building, have been conſigned to the better ſort of tradeſmen and mechanics. The middling gentry ſcarcely ever viſited the capital, except when dragged to it by a lawſuit, or ſome buſineſs of unavoidable exigency; and it was then conſidered as a great diſtinction for a family to take lodgings in town for a Parliament winter.

But, within the period I have mentioned, all this has been gradually changing. The country is deſerted every winter, not only by our nobility and chief gentry, but by every family in what are called the genteeler ranks of life; and even among the wealthy of the other orders, there is an emulation of the manners and cuſtoms of their betters, that attracts them and their families into the ſame vortex of pleaſure and diſſipation.

2d. The commerce of the country, and its conſequent wealth, have increaſed within the ſame period to a degree ſeldom equalled in the annals of any people. Dublin has neceſſarily had a commanding proportion

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portion of their increaſe. Beſides the demands of her own inhabitants, whether ſettled or occaſional, ſhe had the wealthieſt counties of the kingdom to ſupply with many of the articles of the moſt neceſſary conſumption, and with all the articles of luxury and refinement, whether of domeſtic or foreign produce. From her vicinity to the Engliſh Coaſt, and other local circumſtances, ſhe almoſt entirely engroſſed all the objects of ſupply from Great Britain; and ſhe had, beſides, a monopoly of the many lucrative manufactures, either eſtabliſhed of old within her precincts, or recently ſet up in her vicinity.

In proportion as her merchants, and others, improved their fortunes, they left the inconvenient Houſes, built in other days for the mere purpoſe of buſineſs, to their clerks, or their ſubordinate partners, and they either built, or purchaſed, others more ſuited to their encreaſed fortunes. They crowded into the ſtreets and ſquares inhabited by perſons of the higheſt rank; and they vied with them in ſhew, equipage, and all the luxury of entertainment. The relaxation of the Popery laws, and the liberty allowed to Roman Catholics to take leaſes for ever, and to purchaſe fee ſimple eſtates, greatly contributed to this emigration from the old to the new city; and, although it was apprehended that the quays, and other quarters, where perſons of this deſcription formerly reſided, might ſuffer by the change, the fact proved that the houſes in thoſe quarters had even encreaſed in value, and were inſtantly re-occupied.

The wealthieſt, and the more enterpriſing ſhopkeepers, were equally anxious, though from other views,

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views, to purſue the courſe of faſhion, as it ſhifted its abodes. The Liberty, and the old city, were left to new occupiers; and the builders could ſcarcely run up houſes with ſufficient celerity, to anſwer the impatience of tradeſmen, contending for ſituations in the new ſtreets.

3d. The increaſe of wealth cauſing an increaſe in the transfer, and ſhifting of property of every kind, neceſſarily multiplied the members of the Bar, and all that deſcription of perſons who live by the Law. Theſe men, with their families, are, by their profeſſion, obliged to reſide where the Courts of Law are permanent. They too, as they riſe, quit the quarters of the city inhabited of old by the profeſſion. They move from the old ſtreets to the new, in a gradual progreſs with their buſineſs, and the ſucceſſion, daily encreaſing in its numbers, is never known to fail. In their train appear their clients, collected from every part of the kingdom, leading after them all who are neceſſary to their reſpective cauſes; and this great influx rolls inceſſantly into your capital at ſtated periods throughout the year.

4th. You have a Vice-Royal Court eſtabliſhed in the centre of your city, of very great ſtate and ſplendour, ſuch as becomes the dignity of the nation.—This Court is at once the ſeat of faſhion, and the ſeat of the government—In all that is connected with the refinements of pleaſure—in all that is connected with the ſtate—in all eſtabliſhments, whether civil or military—in the different public offices: the exchequer, the treaſury, the cuſtoms, the poſt-office, in the great directing departments of the army; in the various boards, as well for general purpoſes as for the

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internal regulation of the city, in whatever is connected with the government, the revenue, the police of the country,———all have contributed to the preſent extent, beauty, population, and wealth of the capital.

Theſe I take to be among the principal cauſes of your preſent flouriſhing ſtate. They are obvious to yourſelves. Now, the queſtion is, to ſee how they are to be affected by removing the ſeat of Parliament. How will that circumſtance tend either to rob you of theſe ſources of your proſperity, or to interrupt their operation? If it can be proved, not merely by any ſpeculations, but by evidence not to be reſiſted, that they are totally unconnected with the reſidence of your Parliament, and that in no poſſible way they can be affected by its removal to any other part of the empire, you will judge of the alarm into which you have been thrown, and you will be enabled fairly to eſtimate the motives of thoſe who have raiſed it.

In carrying on this inquiry, I will reverſe the order in which I claſſed the different heads.

The Union is to make no change in the eſtabliſhment of your Vice-Royal Court; it is ſtill to diſtinguiſh and adorn your city, and to remain among you in all its ſplendour, and with all its ſtate. It will ſtill continue to draw within its circle, from every part of the kingdom, the rank and the faſhion, the gaiety and the amuſement, that contribute their part in giving employment to your tradeſmen and manufacturers, and that require your preſent ſupply, as well of the luxuries as of the neceſſaries of life. You are to have your Lord Lieutenant at the head of his preſent extenſive and ſplendid eſtabliſhment. You

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are to have your exchequer, your treasury, your civil and war offices, your post-office, your board of customs, in all its highest as well as lowest offices, in all the numerous ramifications into which it branches out. The various departments connected with the regulation of the army, with its clothing and victualling, and the several boards they include, will still be permanent amongst you; and it would be an idle abuse of your time to detail to you the advantages you are to continue to derive from the numbers, as well of commissioners of the first rank and consequence, as of other officers of a more subordinate description, attached to so diversified an establishment, or the consumption they create.

Your courts of law are still to be stationary in your capital. Its great officers, with all their train, its judges, its members of every name and description, must necessarily reside among you, and with them their crouds of clients and litigants, increasing with the increased wealth of the nation, will continue to pour regularly into your streets.

With respect to your commerce, your trade, and your manufactures, I have heard much declamation, but not one word of rational investigation or inquiry. In the very outset of this business, and before the terms of the Union could be submitted to Parliament, your merchants and your bankers were amongst the first to assemble, and declare their opinions against the measure. They gave to the public, with all due solemnity, the resolutions on which they agreed. You would, naturally, have expected that they should have entered into some investigation of the trade of the country, as it was likely to be affected by the Union: That they would have told you how the mercantile,

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and manufacturing intereſts were to be injured by it. Not a word of the kind appeared upon the face of their proceedings. They gave you a ſtring of political maxims, and preſcribed the form of all thoſe violent and inflammatory reſolutions, which, without the interference of cooler heads and wiſer men, would have long ere this deluged your ſtreets in blood.

An interval of inveſtigation and reflection produced that fortunate change of opinion on the ſubject in other parts of the kingdom, that obtained a majority in favour of the meaſure in Parliament, in January laſt, and the terms were detailed and propoſed for diſcuſſion. What was the conduct of your agitating Merchants and Bankers in conſequence? Did they calmly and diſpaſſionately weigh theſe terms? Did they give themſelves time or leiſure to enquire how they were to affect the mercantile intereſts of the kingdom at large, and particularly of this great commercial City? Nothing of the kind appeared in their new reſolutions. The terms were no more mentioned by them, or alluded to, than if they were ſtill to be conjectured and gueſſed at for condemnation and abuſe by the committee of ſcribbling lawyers, who excited your paſſions to frenzy. They continued to addreſs you in the ſame ſtile of declamation without reaſoning, of aſſertion without proof, and of menace and violence without prudence or diſcretion, which diſgraced their meetings in the beginning of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament.

They tell you, indeed, what it required none of theſe ghoſts to tell you, that "the commerce of Ireland "and her manufactures have improved beyond ex- "ample ſince the year 1782;" and hence they argue,

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gue, that an Union will be their ruin. But how do they prove this? "Becauſe it was the virtue of the "Iriſh Parliament that eſtabliſhed the Conſtitution "of 1782. It is to that Conſtitution we owe all our "commercial advantages and improvements: and if "the Iriſh Parliament be removed, we muſt loſe "that Conſtitution and all its advantages together."

I will not here enter into a political inveſtigation of the doctrine that aſſerts, that the Union is to annihilate the Conſtitution as ſettled in 1782. I confine myſelf in this Addreſs to the conſideration of the intereſts of your City, in the event of the meaſure. On this ground I aſſert, that it is not to the ſettlement of 1782, that Ireland owes her unexampled increaſe in her commerce and manufacture. The monopoly which England granted to our linens in her own market, and the bounties ſhe gave on their re-exportation into, the very ſpring and fountain of our national wealth and proſperity, were granted long *before* that period. The grant of a participation in the commerce of the Engliſh colonies, the next great ſource of our proſperity, was *previous* to that period; how then can the Conſtitution, ſettled "by the virtue of the Iriſh Parliament" *at that period*, have been in any way inſtrumental in thoſe ſignal inſtances of Britiſh liberality, or if you chooſe, of Britiſh Wiſdom, that have laid the foundations of your preſent proſperity? The colonies were the purchaſe of the blood of England—they were the acquiſition of her own treaſures, the work of her own induſtry—they were her offspring, nurtured and matured by her into a ſtate of manhood. She had entered into ſuch a compact with them, as that relation authoriſed. She engaged herſelf to purchaſe their commodities, to the excluſion of all ſimilar productions in every other country;

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country; and they pledged themſelves in return, to carry their commodities to no market but her's. A trade with them of any kind, or to any extent, was therefore a favor granted to Ireland by the Britiſh legiſlature. It is, therefore, to that favor, and not to the virtue of the Iriſh Parliament, that your merchants ought to have attributed the advantages which they ſo highly extol, and in which your capital has ſhared beyond any other part of the Kingdom.

There are, it is true, ſome other advantages, and thoſe very conſiderable, by which the trade and commerce of Ireland have been benefited ſince the period of 1782; but, as they depended on England, it is to her Parliament, and not your's, that you are to attribute them. They were owing to the interference of the Engliſh miniſters amongſt you. They were extorted by no compulſion, no menaces from your Parliament, no alarming ſtate of the public mind. They were conceſſions, which England ſaw were due to you in juſtice and ſound policy. Hence the triumph of the anxiety of that country for the welfare of Ireland over her moſt ancient prejudices, when by *an act of her Parliament* ſhe relaxed the ſyſtem of her navigation laws in our favor; when by *an act of her Parliament* ſhe permitted the productions of her colonies to be imported through Ireland into her home market;—hence the conceſſions ſhe made by *an act of her Parliament* relative to the manufacture of ſail cloth, from which this country had reaſon to expect ſuch extenſive benefits.

All theſe conceſſions, producing all the advantages, to which you are in ſo great a degree to aſcribe the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of your capital, your politi-

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cal meeting of merchant agitators, would make you ſuppoſe were not conceſſions but extortions from England. They would repreſent them as conqueſts gained over her by the exertions of your virtuous repreſentatives, when they aſſerted the independence of your legiſlature. I have laid undeniable facts before you, by which you may yourſelves judge of the truth or falſehood of theſe aſſumptions. I will only obſerve to you, that if you had no ſeparate legiſlature, you would have been many years previous to 1782 in poſſeſſion of theſe and of every other ſource of wealth connected with the commerce of England. There would have been no room for demands on the one hand, or for conceſſions on the other. The wiſe policy of Cromwell had deſigned theſe bleſſings for you; and had not the Union he formed between the three kingdoms, as the moſt effectual means his great and comprehenſive mind could deviſe to ſecure their ſolid and permanent intereſts, been, unfortunately, included among the regulations of this the moſt ſagacious of all politicians, which were ſet aſide at the Reſtoration, we ſhould not have experienced any of the miſeries that have ſo long retarded the advancement of our country.

But, ſuppoſing theſe inſinuations to be founded—ſuppoſing that all theſe great advantages had been extorted from England—what then? How would this affect the preſent queſtion? How are you to be deprived of them by the projected Union? They were extorted from England—Granted. But England now comes forward with a voluntary offer to ratify and confirm them to you for ever. They have all been granted under certain regulations and conditions; they are revocable by the ſame power that granted them, and no one will be hardy enough to maintain, that our two Houſes

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Houſes could compel England to continue them to us. She now comes forward to relinquiſh all power of revoking them—ſhe comes forward with a propoſal to mix and blend all our political and commercial intereſts together; ſo as never hereafter to leave any room for thoſe jealouſies and miſunderſtandings, which have ſo often ſubſiſted, and in the councils and proceedings of your agitators, at this moment ſubſiſt between the two countries, to change or abrogate. She offers to make them as much our own, as they are her own; to inveſt us with as unalienable a right in them, as ſhe herſelf poſſeſſes, and to impart to us a full and independent poſſeſſion, not only of thoſe, but all the other benefits of that commerce that has raiſed her to her preſent pre-eminence among the nations of Europe, and has made her the wonder and the envy of the world.

When the famous Iriſh Propoſitions were framed in this country, one of the principal ſources of wealth they propoſed to open to you, was, what was called the Channel Trade. By the arrangements then in contemplation for accompliſhing this object, not only the Engliſh market would be open to us for thoſe productions and manufactures of our own, on the importation of which into England, there are duties amounting to a prohibition, but alſo ſeveral articles wanting in our markets, and eſſential to our manufactures, on the exportation of which from England to this country, high duties are laid, or with duties conſiderably lowered.

It cannot, as yet, be forgotten in what ſounding terms certain perſons amongſt us extolled the advantages which Ireland was to derive from the regulations

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tions thus propoſed in 1785. I will not enter into details. Their * ſpeeches are printed, and to them I refer you for what thoſe gentlemen thought of the Propoſitions, as they were to affect the manufacture of your cottons, your worſted and mixed ſtuffs, your low woollens, as they were to ſecure you againſt all future prohibitions on coals, rock-ſalt, bark, tin, hops, and other articles, moſt of which could be got only from England.

It now ſuits the views and intereſts of thoſe very men to depreciate what they ſo highly extolled. They repreſent the boon now offered to us by England, although heightened by many additional advantages of the greateſt magnitude beyond what were propoſed in that day, as of no value. They are men of great verſatility of parts, of great ingenuity, plauſible, inſinuating; they will never be at a loſs to repreſent what they wiſh you to believe in the moſt impoſing colours. But your plain ſenſe would tell you, if you would but give it fair play, that what it was madneſs to reject in 1785, as they then aſſerted it was, it cannot be wiſdom to reject, when in 1800 it is again offered, highly enhanced in its value, and with many additional advantages; that what was to procure you only conditional benefits, granted by a Power that was independent of you, on a Treaty of Commerce, which although calling itſelf final, depended on the will and caprice of the reſpective Legiſlators, and which was formed on terms that might not be obſerved on either ſide, cannot be of equal value, as when theſe advantages are made your own in full, and, I may ſay, natural en-

* See the Speech of the Right Honourable JOHN FOSTER, on the Iriſh Propoſitions, in the printed Debates, taken down by WOODFALL, and reviſed by the different Speakers, as Mr. Woodfall aſſerts.

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joyment and fruition, depending on no conditions; ſecured to you exactly in the ſame manner as they are ſecured to the country that grants them to you; and that if there is any change, it muſt be in the intereſts and views of theſe men, and not in the thing itſelf.

But leaving theſe Hon. Gentlemen to reconcile their own inconſiſtencies, and to anſwer for them to their country, whoſe confidence in them they abuſe to deceive and miſlead, I ſhall content myſelf with laying before you what I conceive to be the ſtrongeſt proofs, that in many of the manufactures, in which Dublin is moſt intereſted, the opening of the Engliſh market, under the propoſed terms of the Union, will become to you a ſource of encreaſing wealth and proſperity. I will ſubmit to you the opinions of the beſt judges on the queſtion; the depoſitions given at the bar of the Houſe of Commons of England, by the moſt wealthy Engliſh manufacturers, in their intereſted and ſelfiſh alarm at the propoſal of throwing open the Engliſh market to the manufacturers of Ireland.

Mr. Robert Peele, a Calico manufacturer and printer, depoſed, that he then paid, in exciſe duties, twenty thouſand pounds per annum. From this circumſtance you will form ſome judgment of the extent to which he carried on this manufacture, and his opinions will have a proportionate weight with you. This gentleman being aſked what he conceived would be the effect of permitting the articles in which he dealt to be imported from Ireland into the Britiſh market, anſwered, "If the "Iriſh are allowed to ſend their goods to the Engliſh "market, they will not only injure us in our home trade, "but we have great reaſon to fear, that they will draw

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" ſo much ready money from this country, as to enable " them to give credit to foreign countries, and very ma- " terially injure that trade."——Being aſked if England had not a ſuperiority in the cotton manufactures? he anſwered, " The ſuperiority, if we have it, is of " that nature, that it can be eaſily removed into a neigh- " bouring kingdom; and ſo much am I ſatisfied of it, " that ſince the Iriſh reſolutions came before the Houſe, " I have wrote to a principal houſe in Ireland, to have a " connexion with it, *for the purpoſe of ſupplying the con-* " *ſumption of England.*" He was aſked, if England could loſe her cotton manufacture in any way but by the loſs of her induſtry? he anſwered, " That he thought " England might loſe her manufactory, by the Engliſh " manufacturer of property employing his capital in " Ireland. *That he would certainly employ it there himſelf,* " *if the Britiſh market ſhould be opened to Ireland. That* " *he had heard many perſons in the manufacture declare the* " *ſame intentions; and his own determination was to remove* " *part of his manufacture, and employ part of his capital* " *there immediately.*"

This gentleman, from having been a witneſs at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, is now a member of it; having by his induſtry, and his ſpirit of commercial enterpriſe, raiſed himſelf to that honourable diſtinction. In his ſpeech on the Union, which he has printed, he maintained the ſame opinions which he delivered in 1785.—He acknowledged that the principal manufacturing towns in England would be injured by the meaſure; but with all the enlarged views of a Britiſh merchant and legiſlator, he preferred the general intereſts to all local conſiderations.

Mr.

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Mr. Joſeph Smith, a gentleman in the ſame buſineſs, and who alſo paid upwards of twenty thouſand pounds in exciſe, made ſimilar depoſitions; and expreſſed ſimilar intentions of employing his capital in Ireland; and he, as well as Mr. Peele, ſupported their opinions on this ſubject by reaſons, which it would ſwell this Addreſs to too great a length to tranſcribe from the printed evidence.

Mr. Thomas Walker, one of the wealthieſt men in the fuſtian trade, and who was delegated by the town of Mancheſter to look to the intereſts of that trade, being aſked, if he did not think that on the cotton manufacturers of Ireland having the Engliſh market open to them, they would underſell the manufacturers at Mancheſt He anſwered: "In the fuſtian trade, in which "I am concerned, I have no doubt that they could at "this time do it; and I have every reaſon to believe that "in a ſhort time they would underſell us in other "articles." The ſame he ſaid of the cheque trade, and of the ſmall ware trade, that is, tapes, garters, bindings, &c. &c.—and he added, that he had been told by the firſt manufacturer in Mancheſter in the ſilk way, "that if the Iriſh reſolutions, as they affected the home "market, were to paſs into a law, he could not carry on "his trade in England."

Mr. Walker further read a letter he had received from Mr. Thomas Smith, of Mancheſter, in which was this paſſage:—"The number of hands employed in the ſmall "ware manufacture may be three thouſand, who will be "ſoon compelled to emigrate, if the Engliſh market be "opened to Ireland. *For my own part, I cannot heſitate "a moment to declare my firm intention of going to Ire-"land.*"

Depoſitions

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Depoſitions and declarations of a ſimilar nature were made before the Engliſh Houſe of Commons on this occaſion by the ſilk-weavers, and the workers in mixed ſilks; by the ſtationers and paper manufacturers; by perſons engaged in the export of ſhoes; by tanners; by ſadlers; by the manufacturers of cut glaſs and earthen-ware; by the iron-mongers; by the ſoap-boilers and tallow-chandlers; but I paſs theſe to come to the evidence laid before the Houſe in ſupport of a petition from the low woollen and the worſted ſtuff manufacturers. This petition ſtated it as the unanimous opinion of theſe manufacturers, that the opening of the Engliſh market to ſimilar articles of manufacture in Ireland, would be highly injurious to that trade; that they employed in their manufacture large quantities of Iriſh yarn, as Iriſh wool was particularly well adapted for making ſuch goods, and as they could not procure ſufficient Engliſh yarn for the extent to which they then carried on the manufactory; that, therefore, if the Engliſh market, in which there was the greateſt demand for ſuch goods, as they formed the chief dreſs of the manufacturing and labouring orders, ſhould be opened to Ireland, the Iriſh manufacturers would, of courſe, work upon their own materials; and having them at a rate ſo diſproportionably cheaper, they could not fail to underſell the Engliſh manufacturer in his own market, even if there was nothing elſe in their favour. The purport of this petition was ſupported by the evidence of Mr. Richard Sharp, a conſiderable woollen and worſted manufacturer; and he concluded his depoſition by obſerving, "that he had it from the beſt poſſible infor-
"mation, that ſhalloons wrought in Ireland were better
"than any that were ever manufactured at Rumſey,
"which

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" which is the beſt manufactory in England, and that it " was brought conſiderably lower."

But it was not only the manufacturers of low woollens and worſted ſtuffs that were thus alarmed: the manufacturers of the finer cloths came alſo forward to expreſs their fears. It was not, they ſaid, that they were under any apprehenſion that this branch of the manufacture would be immediately affected by the new ſyſtem, as the Iriſh manufacturer was not as expert as the Engliſh. But theſe reflecting men did not ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon by that ſpecious argument, which you all admit implicitly, and by which you are chiefly miſled, that under our *preſent* circumſtances, and in the *preſent* ſtate of our manufactures, we cannot pretend to meet the Engliſh manufacturer in his market, or ſuffer him to come into our own. To enable us to do ſo, is the great object of the propoſed Union, as it was then of the *original* Iriſh Propoſitions; and it was under this impreſſion that the woollen manufacturers ſtated, that from the vicinity of the two countries, the facility with which ſkilful Engliſh weavers might paſs into Ireland, and the great encouragement that would not fail to be given to them, this advantage, from the inferiority in the Iriſh finer cloths, would not long ſubſiſt. As to the raw material, England would poſſeſs no advantage over Ireland in that eſſential particular. Ireland makes cloths of her own wool, as high as twelve ſhillings a yard.—This wool is fit to mix with the Spaniſh wool, in the ſame way as the finer and coarſer Engliſh wools are mixed with it to make the ſecond cloths. The fine cloths of the Devizes, and the country about it, are entirely made of the Spaniſh wool. This the Iriſh manufacturer can purchaſe in the ſame way as the Engliſh; he

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he pays only the ſame original price for it, but he procures it at a leſs expence of freight. From all theſe circumſtances, the woollen manufacturers concluded, that if the Iriſh manufacturers had not yet turned their attention to any plan of improving their manufacture of fine woollen cloths, to an extent to alarm England, it was chiefly becauſe the excluſion from the Britiſh market gave them no encouragement to divert any part of their capital that way; but they contended, that when the Britiſh market ſhould be opened to them, with all the encouragement of ſhorter conveyance, quicker ſale, and ſpeedier returns than the other markets could afford them, they would ſpeedily have their proportion with the Britiſh manufacturer in this, the great object of their wiſhes.

If ſuch were the apprehenſions of theſe manufacturers from the propoſed treaty of 1785, under which the exports of Britiſh wool were to remain prohibited, what would they have felt, if, as is to be the conſequence of the Union, the ſtaple commodity of Engliſh wool, that laſting object of Engliſh jealouſy, had been conceded to Ireland, and ſecured to the Iriſh manufacturer for ever? and the Britiſh market opened to Iriſh woollens of all kinds at low duties.

The laſt manufacturers whom I ſhall mention as having come forward on this alarm, are the manufacturers from Norwich. From their evidence it appeared that they could buy in Norwich ſuch Iriſh worſted yarn as is eſſential to that manufacture, cheaper than the Engliſh, although it was ſubject to four or five duties before it reached them, and was alſo ſubject to the expence of the voyage, and of the carriage, in addition

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to the internal duties in Ireland. From theſe circumſtances, one of their manufacturers depoſed, that upon a fair and juſt calculation, Ireland could manufacture her worſted yarn, in ſimilar articles, 45 per cent. cheaper than England. Was it not, therefore, he ſaid, obvious to conclude, that Ireland would turn her attention immediately to this manufacture, and that either the Iriſh or the Engliſh capitaliſts would be able to underſell England even in her own market?

If I were to write volumes in anſwer to the men whoſe views it now ſuits to depreciate the opening of the Engliſh market to our manufactures, and to whom, through all their ſelf-contradictions, you are infatuated enough to give implicit unenquiring credit, I could not do it ſo effectually as by ſubmitting to you the opinions and declarations of perſons ſo deeply intereſted in the queſtion, and ſo competent to decide upon it. They did not require to be told, that if the Engliſh market was to be thrown open to Ireland, the Iriſh market would be equally thrown open to England; they knew it, but they alſo knew, that in many eſſential branches of manufacture they poſſeſſed no ſuperiority over us; and that in thoſe in which they excelled, it was the ver object of the ſyſtem to raiſe us to a level with them, and that this would be its neceſſary operation.

The event is too recent that you ſhould be reminded of it The jealouſy of the Engliſh manufacturers, and the clamours of the oppoſition in this country, prevailed with the Engliſh parliament, It refuſed to confirm the ſettlement to which the parliament of Ireland had carried it; and Ireland rejected it, as it was ſent back altered and amended by the Miniſter.

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But the ſyſtem of the propoſed Union, as it is to affect your trade and your manufactures ſtands upon very different ground, and holds out much higher advantages. I will proceed to ſtate this to you, and to apply all I have advanced on that ſubject to the particular intereſt of your city.

Beſides the jealouſies of the Engliſh manufacturers, alarmed at the introduction of the manufactures of Ireland into their own market, there were many other objections on the part of England to the ratification of the propoſitions in 1785, in the original form in which they had paſſed both our Houſes of Parliament. Theſe objections principally aroſe from the nature of the connexion between the two countries. A moſt formidable rival was to be admitted into the markets of England, without any ſecurity that this rival ſhould contribute any adequate part to the expences, by which that market was to be ſuſtained and protected. Ireland, under the operation of the original propoſitions, could not make a ſingle acquiſition without a proportionate loſs to England. She would injure her revenues in proportion as ſhe either encroached upon, or brought over to herſelf the principal objects of cuſtoms and exciſe; and England would in her turn, become the complaining ſifter. England, therefore, rejected the ſyſtem, unleſs under ſome controul from her own Parliament conſulting her particular intereſts. This, in the pride of her new ſettlement, her new conſtitution, as it is called of 1782, Ireland refuſed, as encroaching upon her independence, and for this your Parliament was branded with every imputation of ridicule and folly, and beſottedneſs, by the principal framer

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of thoſe propoſitions, who, in a late ſpeech, has diſclaimed and vilified them.

But I have already ſaid that I ſhall leave this gentleman to reconcile his inconſiſtencies to himſelf and to his country, in the beſt way he can. However highly advantageous the ſyſtem he then framed and upheld would have been to this nation, the propoſed ſyſtem of the Union ſtands upon very different grounds. In your trade and commerce, as in your religious diſſenſions, it is calculated to confer every benefit, and procure every indulgence, without the dangers by which every ſuch conceſſion might be attended under the preſent ſtate of things. England now comes forward with a voluntary offer to aboliſh all diſſenſions, all claſhing of intereſts. She comes forward with a propoſal to cut off all the ſources of jealouſy and rivalſhip at once and for ever; to leave no further room for conſiderations of the more or the leſs, which either nation may gain on the other. She wiſhes to have but one market with you; and if there are any articles, in which, at preſent, her manufactures might poſſeſs an advantage over your's, ſhe gives you the boon on ſuch terms as may make it moſt beneficial to you; and agrees, that thoſe manufactures ſhould be protected by countervailing duties.

It is no longer a *bargain* that ſhe propoſes to make with you, as with a ſeparate diſtinct ſtate; as with a people whom ſhe wiſhes to ſee enriched, though not at her own expence: She propoſes that you ſhould make her trade your own, and conſents that all the ſources of wealth ſhe commands may be common to both.

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In return for all this ſhe does not require of you, as has been falſely inſinuated, that you ſhould be burdened with a ſingle ſhilling of her debt; and for the future expences of the empire, ſhe conſents to the ratification of a ſolemn unalterable agreement, by which you ſhall only pay ſuch a proportion as your own reſources, compared with her's, by unalterable criterions, can bear.

In aid of thoſe reſources, ſhe propoſes to grant you out of the revenues paid by the Eaſt India Company, from territories ſubdued by Britiſh arms, and which never coſt you a farthing, 58,000l. a year. She propoſes that the ſubjects, and the produce of either country, ſhould be put upon an equal footing for ever, as to all privileges, encouragements, and bounties. This gives us the continuance *for ever* of the Britiſh and Iriſh bounties on the export of Iriſh linens, and affords a full participation in the great article of ſail-cloth.—It is at preſent provided, that the ſail-cloth uſed in the Britiſh navy, and the firſt ſet of ſails uſed in Britiſh merchant-ſhips, ſhould be of Britiſh manufacture; by the terms of the Union, no diſtinction will be made between Iriſh ſail-cloth and Britiſh ſail-cloth, and thus, in addition to the other great branches of our linen trade, we ſhall have the immenſe market ariſing from the Britiſh navy, and the ſupply of Britiſh ſhipping, open to a manufactory, the ſuperiority in which, I need not obſerve to you, we are ſure to command, both from the nature of our ſoil and the ſkill of our workmen.

From the regulations which England propoſes, reſpecting the *export* from either country, Ireland muſt further reap

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reap incalculable advantages. All articles are, for ever, to be exported duty-free. This proviſion ſecures to Ireland *for ever* the raw materials, which ſhe receives from Great Britain, and which ſhe can procure no where elſe. It ſecures to her *for ever* coals, tin, bark, allum, hops, and ſalt. Under it ſhe will not only enjoy *for ever* the Britiſh markets for her linen trade, but ſhe will receive the raw material of England for the improvement and extenſion of her woollen trade, at the ſame time that, by other regulations, ſhe will have Britiſh bounties to favour the re-exports of the former, and low Britiſh duties to encourage the import of the latter.

With reſpect to future taxes, proviſion is to be made, that in no caſe the Imperial Parliament ſhall be enabled to impoſe higher taxes after the Union, upon any article in Ireland, than the ſame article ſhall be liable to in Great Britain; and with reſpect to debts, Ireland, ſo far from being charged a farthing of the exiſting debts of England, will have towards the payment of her own debt a ſaving of 1,000,000 a year in time of war, and of 500,000l. in time of peace.

Such, in part, is the Union which England offers you; yet the very men, (I cannot too often repeat it) who reproached Ireland with folly and infatuation for rejecting the ſyſtem of 1785, on what they called the fanciful ground of entrenching on her independence, and from liſtening to a popular clamour, artfully raiſed for party views, are now the moſt violent in ſpiriting up Ireland to reject the Union, on grounds ſtill more fanciful of encroaching on our independence, and by a popular clamour

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clamour raiſed by intereſted and deſigning men to ſerve their own partial ends.

Is it poſſible that you can always ſubmit to be impoſed on by theſe men? That you can continue to give implicit credit to their aſſertions, without proof or argument, inſtead of examining and judging for yourſelves, at leaſt in ſuch points as you are, yourſelves, particularly competent to decide upon?

Are not moſt of the manufactures, on which I ſubmitted to you the depoſitions and declarations of the Engliſh manufacturers, thoſe in which your city is principally intereſted? Is it not within your city, or its vicinity, that they have been eſtabliſhed of old? And is it not in your city and its vicinity, that they are ſtill likely to be eſtabliſhed, and carried on in their greateſt extent?

Do you not form the point of immediate contact with England? Are you not then certain to become the emporium between the two kingdoms?—the repoſitory where the manufactures and the produce of both countries ſhall be depoſited for the regular ſupply of both? Look to the canals, that are already branching to every part of the kingdom from your city, as from a central point; through theſe you will have a ſpeedy and cheap communication with the inland parts of the kingdom; through theſe you will convey every article of Iriſh manufacture, or Iriſh growth, into your warehouſes, to be ſhipped to the Engliſh ports, and by the ſame canals you will float into the country the commodities

you

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you ſhall bring in return from England, as well as the produce of the colonial and foreign markets. Theſe returns will be quick—Engliſh capital will flow in with them. It will diffuſe itſelf through every deſcription of your manufacturers—your principal merchants and traders, enriched by their proportion in the general encreaſe of commerce, as well as by their local advantages, will continue to extend and to embelliſh your city, and by the extenſive increaſe of population which trade and manufacture can alone produce, and the increaſed conſumption this population will require, they will neceſſarily raiſe the value of lands within your circuit and in your vicinity.

Your poor ſtarving manufacturers in the Liberty will ſee their trade not only revived, but carried on to an extent hitherto unknown. They will be no longer left as wretched mendicants on the luxury and diſſipation of your contracted circles of faſhion, to ſolicit temporary employment from balls and aſſemblies, and caſtle galas, the miſerable expedients to which you now look with excluſive confidence, and which you tremble to loſe. They will feel the influence of that regular and uninterrupted demand, which feeds the thouſands that are employed in the Britiſh manufactories; and, as occaſional diſtreſs, and occaſional want of employment ſo often drive them into diſorder and riot, if not rebellion, the ſettled and increaſing comforts of ſucceſsful induſtry, fed by the ſame uninterrupted ſtream that feeds Britiſh induſtry, will reſtore them to quiet and peace.

But how can you be ſure that Britiſh capital will flow in upon us in conſequence of an Union? I have already laid before you the poſitive declarations to that effect

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effect of the greateſt Engliſh capitaliſts, looking forward to a ſettlement, infinitely leſs advantageous to them and you, than that now propoſed. But there are other grounds on which you can yourſelves form a judgment as to that point.

It is notorious that all the commerce of the world centers at this moment in England. It is notorious, that almoſt all the money in Europe has found its way there.

This enormous commerce now requires to be as enormouſly fed, and together with the unexampled annual demands of the government, for carrying on the public ſervice on its preſent ſcale, enables the money-holder to employ his capital to the full gratification of his avarice. But when, on the concluſion of a peace, commerce will return in a great degree to its old channels; when the miniſter will no longer require an annual loan of from eighteen to twenty millions, and the money-holder can no longer look to the preſent wants of the government, and the preſent profits or government ſecurities to employ his money, where can this redundancy of capital diſcharge itſelf? Trade in England has been long gorged; manufacture is full in all its branches; land is at its higheſt price.—Will an Engliſhman ever look to France, or Germany, or Spain, or Italy, or any part of the Continent, for his eſtabliſhment? Will he expoſe himſelf and his family, and his property, on an adventure to America, in preference to a nearer ſettlement? No; this immenſe accumulation muſt overflow upon *us*; it muſt throw itſelf on *our* commerce, *our* manufactures, *our* lands.

But

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But it will be aſked, might it not do ſo equally under our preſent eſtabliſhment, as under the ſyſtem of an Union? Certainly not. The idea of ſecurity will be wanting. At preſent no Engliſhman will advance a ſingle guinea for your loans, unleſs the payment of the intereſt be guaranteed to him by his own Parliament. The idea of peace, and tranquillity, and good order, will be wanting. At preſent there is not an Engliſhman who does not conſider Ireland as in a ſtate of actual rebellion, and who is not impreſſed with a conviction, that as long as we have a legiſlature ſeparate and diſtinct from the legiſlature of England, we muſt ever be expoſed to thoſe internal diſſenſions and diviſions that have ſo long convulſed our wretched country, and retarded her advancement. But give them a Union—let them ſee that the country is *one*, the ſtate *one*, the legiſlature *one*, and you will give the Engliſh capitaliſts the ſame truſt and confidence, and ſecurity, with a conviction of which they are impreſſed under their own Parliament: There will be then nothing left to check their ſpeculation.—They will have here no Income Tax, no Horſe Tax, no Dog Tax, no Powder Tax, no Armorial Bearing Tax, no Poor Rates, no Land Tax—they will have labour at a cheaper price, proviſions at a cheaper price, land at a cheaper rate of purchaſe. On theſe advantages they will ſpeculate, and the enterpriſing ſpirit of Britiſh induſtry will, by degrees, diffuſe its bleſſings through every claſs of our people.

And yet, you are to be deceived, and talked out of theſe proſpects. You are to be impoſed on by falſe ſtatements, and amuſed by fanciful calculations, from the deſks of political barriſters, on many of whom you would

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would think a guinea thrown away in conducting a ſimple ſuit for a book-debt. In oppoſition to all the advantages I have detailed to you, theſe men affect to calculate to a fraction what money is to be ſpent out of the kingdom at large, and out of your city in particular, by a given number of noblemen and gentlemen reſiding for a part of the year in England. As if a far greater number than your propoſed repreſentation did not, under the preſent ſyſtem, reſide there every year for a longer period than their attendance on their parliamentary duty can require, as if the troubles, which have lately agitated, and threaten again to agitate this ill-fated country, did not drive, and muſt not continue to drive more families out of the kingdom, and out of your capital, than if both your Houſes of Parliament were to emigrate in a body.

What miſerable ſtuff have I ſeen thruſt upon you in theſe crude calculations? So ignorant is one of the Barriſters, who took the lead in this mode of deception, of every thing connected with the ſubject, that he ſuppoſes, that infinitely more money will be tranſmitted out of this kingdom, for the ſupport of his emigrants each year, than our whole circulating ſpecie amounts to.

But theſe daſhing calculaters boggle at no abſurdity. They at once aſſume it as an indiſputable fact, that all the propoſed repreſentatives of your nobility are for ever to deſert their family ſeats, and all the ſplendor, all the comforts, by which they are there ſurrounded, that they are to abandon all care and attention to that property, by which alone they can be enabled to ſupport their ſtate, and to give up all attentions to thoſe intereſts

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which have raiſed them to the pre-eminence they enjoy among their fellow-ſubjects.

They aſſume it as an indiſputable fact, that your repreſentative commoners, the great proportion of whom are, comparatively with thoſe of England, men of moderate fortunes, will fix themſelves and their families for their winter eſtabliſhment in the Britiſh metropolis, and for the ſummer in ſome of the country parts of England, either to ruin their fortunes by an emulation in expence with the great Engliſh commoners, or to ſink into a place below their natural level, and mix with a ſociety for which they and their wives, and their children, are unfitted by their education and their habits.

They aſſume it as an indiſputable fact that, like the repreſentative nobles, they will abandon their property and their family eſtates to the management of others; that they will neglect all regard to their conſtituents, all the attentions they owe them, all means of conciliating a continuance of their favour, or of recommending themſelves to their future ſupport, by reſiding amongſt them, by living with them in the interchange of the uſual civilities of ſociety and good neighbourhood, that produce affection, and ſecure eſteem and confidence. They aſſume it as an indiſputable fact, that they are to be followed by all our principal gentry leaving the capital, leaving their own eſtates to bankrupt merchants, ſtarving ſhop-keepers, tillers of the ground, without a market for their produce, mechanics without work, and labourers without employment.

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Is it in ſimplicity itſelf to be amuſed by ſuch ſuppoſitions? It was by ſimilar deceptions that the people of Edinburgh ſuffered themſelves to be miſled and inflamed at the time of the Union with Scotland "againſt "all manner of reaſoning," ſays an eye-witneſs in his hiſtory of that tranſaction, "againſt nature, againſt "intereſt, fighting againſt their approaching freedom, "inſulting the promoters of their happineſs, and with "inexpreſſible uneaſineſs receiving the bleſſings of uni-"verſal peace."—Yet what has been the event? The city of Edinburgh is tripled in point of extent ſince the Union. It is computed that within theſe laſt thirty years the new buildings, public and private, the new ſtreets and ſquares, have coſt above two millions ſterling.—The public offices, the courts of juſtice, the regiſter-houſe, the offices of exciſe and cuſtoms, the new univerſity, the theatres, aſſembly rooms, bridges, &c. do not yield in magnificence to thoſe of any capital in Europe. Can what has enriched Edinburgh impoveriſh you? Edinburgh was proud and poor, diſſolute and idle, while ſhe continued to be the ſeat of her parliament. From the day that by her Union with England, her parliament removed to the Britiſh capital, and became part of the Imperial legiſlature of Great Britain, her peace was ſecured, her trade and her commerce increaſed, her incitements to her nobility and principal gentry, to make her the reſidence of their families, were multiplied from day to day; and thus uniting the wealth of landed income, with the wealth of Commerce, and the expenditure of ſucceſsful induſtry, with the expenditure of rank and ſtate, ſhe raiſes her head among the moſt beautiful and flouriſhing capitals of Europe.

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Where the circumſtances are the ſame, the ſame conſequences will follow; and the removal of her parliament will no more operate againſt Dublin, than it has operated againſt Edinburgh. You, with your Union, ſtart from a more advanced poſt; you are already, as far as the ſplendor and the appearance of your capital go, what the Union has made Edinburgh, and in point of commerce you are greatly beyond what ſhe was at that period; your progreſs, therefore, will be the more rapid and brilliant, in proportion to the greater advantages you enjoy. You will have an attractive for your nobility and gentry to reſort to you, which Edinburgh had not, the court of your Lord Lieutenant; your courts of law will be more crowded in proportion to the more extenſive population of your country, and its greater maſs of fluctuating property; all the rank, and all the faſhion of the kingdom will find in you from the outſet thoſe incitements to reſide within your capital, which it took a number of years to procure to Edinburgh. They will continue to crowd to you in the winter, with their families, to enjoy that ſociety, partake in thoſe amuſements, and procure thoſe advantages for their children, as well with reſpect to their education, as to their eſtabliſhment in life, which no other place can hold out to them. Your country towns are not like the great provincial towns in France, where theſe advantages collect the neighbouring gentry, inſtead of reſorting to the capital; and be aſſured that your nobles, and wealthy commoners, will not revert to the manners of the laſt century, when they contented themſelves with the hoſpitality of their reſpective country ſeats. They will ſtill inhabit your ſtreets and your ſquares, while, at the ſame time, your wealthy merchants, increaſing daily in number, will exhibit to you

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you the ſtate and ſplendor of that claſs in England, to which you have been hitherto ſtrangers, and will ſoon indemnify you for the abſence of a few titled men, who may chuſe a fixed reſidence in England, and whoſe names, thoſe of you who are ſhopkeepers, are now ſo wonderfully proud to ſee figuring on your books.

A FREEMAN OF DUBLIN.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE this APPEAL went to the Preſs, the oppoſers of the Union have poured in upon the bar of the Houſe of Commons a number of manufacturers, to ſhew how ruinous the meaſure muſt prove to their reſpective branches of trade. Having exhauſted all their ammunition of bar eloquence, all their ſtores of threats, and invective, and abuſe, they bring forward this new engine of oppoſition, as their laſt deſperate attempt to drive the people, and particularly the inhabitants of your city, into *active* reſiſtance to the meaſure. The evidence of theſe men, as it was to be expected, is equally prophetic of ruin and beggary to the country, as the petitions which preceded them, and you have had it retailed in all their inflammatory publications, and through all their agitating [illegible]s.

For

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For my own part, I ſee nothing in the depoſitions of theſe men, to make me change opinions I have delivered; I ſee nothing in their evidence, but the ſame miſrepreſentations with which the propoſed Union has been exhibited to your view, ſince the firſt diſcuſſion of the queſtion; I ſee nothing in it, but a ſympathy of alarm, for a monopoly of the ſeveral manufactures on which theſe men are engaged, with thoſe who tremble for the danger, that hangs over another ſpecies of manufacture, in which a monopoly has long been enjoyed to the detriment of the country at large—I mean the manufacture of political power, and political conſequence; a moſt lucrative branch of trade, by which ſo many of the great leading Anti-Unioniſts have enriched themſelves, and their connexions; and in which the reſt, encouraged by their example, have greedily embarked, and which they tremble to loſe.

In proof of what I aſſert, let us take the cotton manufacturers. What is the purport of their evidence?—"That they muſt be protected by duties, to the amount "of 50 per cent. againſt the Britiſh manufacturer, or "that the trade muſt be ruined." That *their* trade, that is their monopoly, muſt be ruined, I readily grant, but that the manufacture of cotton in this country muſt gain by it, I cannot entertain a doubt. This lucrative branch of buſineſs, which has been the ſource of ſo much wealth to Great Britain, will be no longer confined to the few individuals who have had capital ſufficient to undertake it in this country, and who have been the little tyrants, inſtead of the protectors of it. It will be open to Engliſh capital, and Engliſh ſkill, from the moment that

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that the Engliſh manufacturer can ſee ſecurity for the property he ſhall embark in it, and a ſufficient market for the ſale of his wrought goods. The men who have made the moſt ſplendid fortunes in the ſeveral branches of this manufacture, and who carry it on to its greateſt extent, have already declared their opinions to this effect; you have read their depoſitions and their determinations, faithfully ſelected from the evidence before the bar of the Engliſh Houſe of Commons, as printed by authority. It is by theſe depoſitions, and theſe declarations, that this alarm has been raiſed; your political and manufacturing monopoliſts have equally caught it, and both, as you ſee, play with great dexterity into each others hands.

But, for God's ſake, do you attend only to your own intereſts, and let me aſk you, what is the mighty evil, either to the kingdom at large, or to your capital in particular, if theſe manufacturers ſhould ceaſe to have their goods protected againſt ſimilar articles from England by a tax of fifty per cent. upon the conſumption? That is, if they ſhould ceaſe to put fifty per cent. into their pockets, which they are to raiſe upon every one of you that buys and wears their goods? What general evil will accrue, if from encouraging competition, and introducing ſkilful workmen, which the Engliſh manufacturers, the perſons immediately concerned, tell you muſt be the conſequence of ſuch regulations as the Union purpoſe, the public will be no longer obliged, and particularly the lower orders, to take whatever ſtuff theſe monopoliſts chuſe to manufacture, and ſell to the people, and when they ceaſe to have ſo large a premium for precluding the public from a larger

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a larger and better market? Will your city loſe in wealth or population, if, inſtead of two or three cotton manufactories, bringing in enormous profits to their conductors, at the expence of every perſon confined to the wear of their goods, by the excluſion of ſimilar articles from England, you ſhould have encouragement given to numbers to embark in the ſame buſineſs, either within your city or in its neighbourhood? Numbers, who by introducing capital and ſkill, would in a ſhort time do away the diſadvantages under which this ricketty manufacture has, from its firſt birth laboured in this country? Will your city loſe in peace and good order, if the workmen engaged in the different branches of this buſineſs, inſtead of being in the abſolute power of two or three companies, who can play into each other's hand, and reduce their wages, or diſcharge them altogether from employment, as it ſuits their temporary views, ſhall have always a choice of employers, and a certainty of work?

There is not one of theſe obſervations that does not equally apply to the other manufacturers, who have appeared at the bar of the Houſe of Commons. They apply to all your dealers in commiſſion; all your money jobbers, all who get rich by their enormous profits on the lower ſhop-keepers and tradeſmen. How long then will you ſuffer yourſelves to be deluded by intereſted men working upon your credulity, and taking advantage of the facility with which you liſten to every deceiver that wiſhes to miſlead you to his own purpoſes? How long will you lend your aſſiſtance to every monopoliſt, whether in trade or politics, whoſe object it is to ſacrifice the public good to perſonal intereſts?

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tereſts? Is it not notorious that the ſugar refiners impoſe on every one of you the enormous charge of ſixpence or ſeven-pence, ſometimes eight-pence, for every pound of ſugar you conſume, beyond what that, now neceſſary of life is ſold for by the Engliſh refiners? yet they alſo have had the effrontery to appear among the reſt before Parliament, to claim a perpetuity in this robbery on the public; yet their claims have been backed by the whole gang of Anti-Unioniſts, who make you a party in this groſs impoſition on yourſelves, and ſpirit you againſt a meaſure that puts an end to this ſcandalous monopoly—a monopoly that raiſes a greater tax upon the public than your Parliament would dare to impoſe on it. And what are the grounds? Bluſh to hear them. Becauſe in this manufacture there are 20 proprietors, and about 220 workmen. In what contempt muſt the great mover of theſe puppets, the great Anti-Union ſhewman, hold your underſtandings, when he attempts ſuch things!

A FREEMAN OF DUBLIN.

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Genuine Edition, corrected by the Author.

A

FAIR REPRESENTATION

OF THE

PRESENT POLITICAL STATE

OF

IRELAND:

IN A COURSE OF STRICTURES ON TWO PAMPHLETS,

ONE ENTITLED

'THE CASE OF IRELAND 'RE-CONSIDERED;'

THE OTHER ENTITLED

'CONSIDERATIONS ON THE STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN THE YEAR 1799,—IRELAND;'

WITH

Observations on other modern Publications on the Subject of

AN INCORPORATING UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

Particularly on a Pamphlet entitled

THE SPEECH OF LORD MINTO IN THE HOUSE OF PEERS, APRIL 11, 1799.'

By PATRICK DUIGENAN, L. L. D.

ONE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CITY OF ARMAGH IN PARLIAMENT.

Semper ego auditor tantum? Nunquamne reponam
Vexatus toties?—JUV. SAT. I.

Dublin:

PRINTED FOR J. MILLIKEN, GRAFTON-STREET.

1800.

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A FAIR REPRESENTATION OF THE PRESENT POLITICAL STATE OF IRELAND.

AN Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland is a meaſure, the magnitude and importance of which have not only engaged the moſt ſerious conſideration of the ſubjects of the Britiſh Empire, but have attracted the attention of many of the other ſtates of Europe, as well friends as enemies.

Although I have been for many years the avowed friend of the meaſure, and in the year 1793 declared in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons my ſettled opinion on the ſubject, and was then the only man who did ſo, ſtating at the ſame time ſome of the reaſons on which my opinion was founded; and although I have, by the occurrences of every day ſince, been more and more confirmed in my ſentiments upon it, and convinced not only of the expediency, but of the neceſſity of the meaſure; yet I do not mean to trouble my readers with any arguments on the ſubject:

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my deſign in the preſent publication is, to expoſe the baſe falſehood and malignant miſrepreſentations of the State of Ireland, contained in ſome pamphlets which have lately appeared, profeſſedly written on the ſubject of the Union, but in truth for a very different purpoſe; and to add a few obſervations on other pamphlets publiſhed in England, as the ſubſtance of Speeches ſpoken in the Britiſh Houſes of Parliament, on the ſubject of an Incorporating Union, by men in the higheſt ſtations in Britain; from which it would ſeem, that theſe great men entertained very erroneous ideas of the Preſent State of Ireland, and of the Strength, Views, and Intereſts of the different claſſes of its inhabitants: and I am not without hope that I may, by fair and honeſt repreſentations, conduce to the ſucceſs of a meaſure which has for many years been the object of all my feeble exertions in the political world.

In England the project of an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland has been entertained with an almoſt univerſal approbation; the good ſenſe of the nation has clearly pointed out to every honeſt mind, the manifeſt advantages to the Britiſh Empire in general of ſuch a meaſure; it has been there oppoſed only by a handful of Jacobins. In Ireland the caſe is different; it has been there oppoſed by many men of great loyalty, abilities, and rank, and has given riſe to much diſcontent and diſſenſion among perſons of the firſt political influence. It is remarkable, however, in Ireland, that all traitors and Jacobins are unanimous in their reprobation of the meaſure, while the well-affected are divided in their opinions, ſome (I think the majority) approving, and others diſapproving of it. Perhaps I may be in ſome meaſure able in the concluſion to account for this difference of opinion among

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among the Iriſh Loyaliſts; at preſent, however, it is ſufficient to remark, that their diſſenſion has given an advantage to the Jacobins which they have eagerly availed themſelves of. All their conſpiracies detected, their falſe treaſonable libels expoſed and confuted, their rebellion ſuppreſſed, their French allies chaſed out of the ocean, they lay grovelling on the earth, diſabled, diſmayed, and dejected, till the heat of this conteſt between their conquerors on the ſubject of the Union again vivified them, as the heat of the ſun does the inſects on a dunghill; again the buzz of theſe hornets was heard in every part of the nation; and of all their neſts, Popery ſent forth the buſieſt and moſt numerous ſwarms.

A claſs of writers of that perſuaſion have of late been indefatigable both in England and Ireland, in publiſhing the moſt audacious falſehoods reſpecting Iriſh Proteſtants, their religious and political conduct, principles, numbers, ſtrength, and influence; nor are their falſehoods leſs daring and notorious reſpecting the ſame qualities in the Iriſh Romaniſts, debaſing and vilifying the firſt claſs, and magnifying the laſt, with the moſt ſingular contempt of truth. No artifice of malignant miſrepreſentation, of ſlander, of degradation on the one ſide, or of applauſe, celebration, aggrandizement, and exaggeration on the other, has been omitted.

Theſe writers never entertained the leaſt hope that their calumnies would gain any credit in Ireland; their falſehood was too notorious there: they publiſhed them for the meridian of England, where the ignorance of the bulk of the Nation of the real ſtate of Ireland might cauſe a temporary belief of fictions ſo boldly and ſo impudently

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ſtated: this temporary belief in the preſent criſis they knew they could turn to the advantage of the political purſuits of their ſect; becauſe it would naturally incline the leading men in the Britiſh Adminiſtration to favour their ruinous claims in the negotiation of an Union of the two nations, and enable the Iriſh Romaniſts to obtain a ſupport in the treaty for pretenſions radically inimical to every Proteſtant government, but more particularly ſo, where part of the ſovereignty is a popular aſſembly; and this treaty might be brought to a concluſion before the Britiſh nation ſhould be apprized on what a rotten foundation their pretenſions were erected.

The degradation and abuſe of the Iriſh Proteſtants by theſe Romiſh writers, and vaunts of the ſtrength and importance of their own ſect, were particularly adapted to alienate the minds of the Britiſh Proteſtants from their brethren in Ireland, and to induce them to acquieſce, perhaps to aſſiſt, in the ſubverſion of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment in that kingdom, which if they can once effect, they very juſtly conſider that the ſcheme of the Separation of the two countries will be more than half accompliſhed, though a treaty for an Union ſhall be concluded: the Proteſtants of Ireland, as the Romaniſts well know, compoſing the principal links of the chain of connexion between the two nations.

I ſhould have left theſe malicious Romiſh fables to merited contempt and oblivion, nor would I have condeſcended to have taken the ſlighteſt notice of them, had I not perceived, from reading the ſubſtance of certain Speeches of very eminent perſonages, delivered in the Britiſh Houſes of Lords and Commons, lately publiſhed on the

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the ſubject of Union, that the groſs falſehoods and miſrepreſentations of theſe Romiſh writers had been adopted by theſe great men, and that they had been ſo far duped by them, as to repeat them in the Britiſh Senate, and to reaſon upon them, as if they had been facts; grounding ſome of their arguments in favour of an Union on ſuch deceitful phantoms conjured up by theſe magicians of fraud and malice, and deſerting the powerful, convincing, and irrefragable arguments for an Incorporating Union, grounded on the ſituation and preſent connexion of the two iſlands, the ſtate of Europe in general, and the manifeſt benefits which muſt neceſſarily accrue to each iſland in particular, and to the Britiſh empire in general, from ſuch an Union; and thereby raiſing in the breaſts of all the Proteſtants of that empire, the faithful ſubjects of his Majeſty, the moſt alarming apprehenſions of innovation in their conſtitution both in church and ſtate, and rendering Iriſh Proteſtants particularly, in whom is for the preſent veſted, excluſively, the whole political power of that kingdom, diſinclined to an Union, by giving them cauſe to ſuſpect that ſuch an Union is projected ſolely for the depreſſion of their religion in Ireland, and the elevation of Popery on its ruins.

Two of theſe pamphlets, manifeſtly the productions of Romiſh writers, though they have concealed their names, I ſhall particularly notice, becauſe they contain a general collection of all the falſehood and miſrepreſentation reſpecting the ſtate of Ireland, the numbers, phyſical and political ſtrength, the influence, principles, and deſigns of the different claſſes of its inhabitants, which have been publiſhed in all the pamphlets, magazines, reviews, annual regiſters, newſpapers, &c. by Romiſh writers and their allies, the Infidels, Republicans, and Jacobins, from the

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the time Mr. Edmund Burke, the modern apoſtle of Popery, began his operations for the ſubverſion of the Proteſtant religion in Ireland, to the preſent day. One of theſe pamphlets is entitled, '*The Caſe of Ireland Re-conſidered, in Anſwer to a Pamphlet entitled, "Arguments for "and againſt an Union conſidered."*' The other is entitled, '*Conſiderations on the State of Public Affairs in the Year 1799.—Ireland.*' The author of the firſt of theſe performances pretends to argue againſt the Union of the two kingdoms; the author of the ſecond, to ſupport it with the utmoſt zeal; but the real purpoſe of both is, to degrade, vilify, and traduce the Proteſtant, and magnify, aggrandize, and elevate the Romiſh inhabitants of Ireland, by every ſpecies of falſehood, miſrepreſentation, and malice.

The reputed author of the firſt is a Romiſh gentleman of a competent landed eſtate in Ireland, who was educated from his early years in France, where the rudiments of diſaffection to the religion, conſtitution, and government of his country, early implanted in his mind at home, were carefully cheriſhed, cultivated, and reared to maturity: deeply read in the works of D'Alembert, Voltaire, Rouſſeau, Diderot, Condorcet, and other philoſophers of the new French ſchool, on his return to his native country, he took care further to improve his ſtock of modern philoſophy, by a diligent peruſal of the works of Paine, Price, Prieſtley, Godwin, &c. Though by the laws of every country in Europe, and by the common law of the Britiſh empire, a natural-born ſubject, who fights in the ranks of a hoſtile nation againſt the troops of his natural Sovereign, is a traitor; and although by the ſtatute law of Great Britain and Ireland, a natural-born ſubject, Britiſh or Iriſh, ſerving

ſerving in the French or Spaniſh armies, even in time of peace, is a traitor; yet this philoſopher's hoſtility to his country obliterated from his mind all ideas of natural allegiance, and even of common prudence, and impelled him, in the courſe of the French and American war, to ſerve in the armies of France, and fight againſt his King and country in the Weſt Indies, though he at the ſame time drew the revenue of a competent eſtate out of Ireland; which eſtate, had the law been properly executed, would have by his treaſon become a forfeiture to the Crown. The Iriſh gentlemen ſerving in the armies of France, on the ſubverſion of the monarchy, withdrew from that ſervice almoſt generally, and joined the coaleſced powers with the exiled French princes; they were all ſoldiers of fortune, and had no ſubſiſtence ſave what they could carve out by their ſwords: they excuſed their ſerving in the French armies, by alledging, that they were generally poor gentlemen, who were precluded by the laws of their country from ſerving in its armies (theſe laws are now repealed in Ireland), and that they ſerved in the French armies for bread; yet they abandoned the ſervice of the infamous French uſurpers, braved penury and diſtreſs, and preferred poverty to diſgrace. This gentleman had no ſuch excuſe; he had a competent fortune in his own country, yet on the French revolution he did not follow the example of his aforeſaid gallant countrymen. As a thorough initiated French philoſopher, he inliſted in the ſervice of the French uſurpers, and fought in the ranks of their ſanguinary pillaging hordes in the preſent war in Flanders. Notwithſtanding all his treaſons, he returned to his native country, and ſtill enjoys his eſtate unmoleſted. Perhaps it may be prudent in Government, if it is determined not to proſecute him for his treaſons, to

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keep a ſtrict watch over his conduct; for a perſon taking up his reſidence within the Britiſh dominions, under ſuch circumſtances, may be reaſonably ſuſpected of connexion and correſpondence with that enemy, in whoſe ſervice he has heretofore riſked his life and fortune.

I have ſtated this gentleman to be a Romaniſt; indeed he ſtates himſelf, in page 58 of his pamphlet, to be ſo; and I may be perhaps accuſed of inconſiſtency in ſuppoſing any man, inſtituted as he has been, to be a Romaniſt, which implies his being a Chriſtian: to clear myſelf of any imputation of that kind, it is neceſſary that I ſhould briefly explain my meaning, which I cannot do better than by nearly copying part of Swift's character of the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Wharton, in his Hiſtory of the Four laſt Years of Queen Ann: he there obſerves, that the Earl's father was a rigid Preſbyterian, that the Earl adopted his father's principles in government, but dropt his religion, and took up no other in its room, but that in all other reſpects he was a firm Preſbyterian. Now the gentleman's father I am writing of was a rigid Romaniſt; he dropt his father's religion, and took up no other in its room, but in all other reſpects he is a firm Romaniſt. And ſuch a character is not ſingular; I have waſted ſome attention on ſeveral perſons bred Romaniſts, who have conformed to the Proteſtant religion, and who have attained honourable, confidential, and lucrative appointments by their conformity; and on others bred in that perſuaſion, who both in theory and practice have profeſſed Deiſm; and ſcarce ever knew one of them, who, in all political purſuits of that ſect, did not prove himſelf to be a firm Romaniſt: ſome of them, in whoſe breaſts a few half-ſmothered ſparks of Chriſtianity ſtill glimmered,

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glimmered, have had them kindled into a ſort of lambent flame of devotion by the unequivocal ſymptoms of approaching death, and they have uniformly died in the Romiſh perſuaſion.

The author of the ſecond pamphlet I have mentioned is not aſcertained; many have been the candidates, proclaimed by the poſterior trumpet of Fame, for the eminent turpitude of being the parent of this deteſtable production. The author of the firſt endeavours to conceal the natural deformity of falſehood and malice, by clothing them in ſomething of a gentlemanly garb; the author of the ſecond aggravates that natural deformity, by arraying them in all the ſhaggy horrors of the ſavage: his unrelenting malignant abuſe of Iriſh Proteſtants, from the beginning to the end of his performance, ſufficiently demonſtrates his political creed at leaſt to be the ſame with that of the author of the firſt pamphlet. But I have perhaps detained the reader too long by perſonal remarks on theſe two authors; I will therefore now proceed to examine the contents of their pamphlets.

Commencement of the Strictures on the pamphlet entitled, 'The Caſe of Ireland re-conſidered.'

The author of the firſt grounds all his arguments, for advancing Iriſh Romaniſts to an equality of political power in the Britiſh empire in general with their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, on two poſitions. The firſt and principal is, *that men ſincerely attached to the whole Romiſh creed may be as good and faithful ſubjects of the Britiſh empire as Proteſtants.* The ſecond is, *that property by the Britiſh Conſtitution entitles the poſſeſſors to political power in proportion to the property, and that it is therefore unconſtitutional to exclude Romaniſts from a ſhare of political power in the ſtate proportioned to their property.* Theſe are the two grand

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grand pillars on which he propoſes to rebuild the gaudy palace of Romiſh tyranny and uſurpation in the Britiſh empire, at the ſame time not neglecting to prop it with numberleſs buttreſſes of menaces, ſlanders, malice, falſehood, ſophiſtry, and deceit.

His argument on the firſt of theſe propoſitions he introduces in the following modeſt manner:

'The next is a very old objection, *which I never could underſtand how any well-informed man could make twice.*

'The moſt numerous religious ſect (i. e. Romaniſts) 'does not acknowledge the ſupremacy of the ſtate, but 'profeſſes to be ſubject to a foreign juriſdiction. Their 'religion could not be eſtabliſhed without deſtroying the 'conſtitution, which is founded on the principles of 'civil and eccleſiaſtical liberty, and the excluſion of fo-'reign interference and juriſdiction.'

After thus ſtating the objection, and with no ſmall degree of petulance obſerving that no well-informed man could ſupport it, or urge it twice, he argues thus: 'This may 'be an objection to their having a religious eſtabliſh-'ment, but not to their being admitted to a ſhare in the 'Legiſlature, the King and Peers being Proteſtants, and '(property being the baſis of repreſentation) nine-tenths 'of the Houſe of Commons. *Romaniſts do not deny the 'ſole right of the ſtate to manage the concerns, eſtabliſhment, 'faith, and diſcipline of the Church of England;* but they 'do not admit the King of England to be ſpiritual head 'of the Roman Catholic Church, *nor do the Preſbyterians 'admit him to be the head of theirs.* This was not a rea-'ſon

'ſon for excluding the Scotch from a ſhare in the legiſ-
'lature of the country they were united to; why ſhould
'it exclude the Iriſh? The ſpiritual authority which
'the Romiſh Church poſſeſſes has no ſanction, nor co-
'ercive power in this life, and can in no way come in
'contact with civil exiſtence. *The Pope nominates the*
'*Iriſh Romiſh biſhops*, but this gives him no real or eſſen-
'tial juriſdiction in the Iriſh ſtate; he and the whole
'Roman Catholic Church have not in the Iriſh ſtate,
'nor pretend to have, the power of the meaneſt veſtry.
'Cujas, a French lawyer, and Cardinal Fleury, have
'declared, that the Pope, nor the whole Church to-
'gether, cannot inflict any coercive puniſhment on any
'man, whatſoever his crimes may be, unleſs the Em-
'peror gives him power to do it. The power which
'*Popes have been accuſed of arrogating* over the princes of
'Europe was entirely foreign to their ſpiritual authority,
'and to the Roman Catholic religion. In no country in
'the world can any tribunal exiſt deriving from the
'Roman Catholic religion, or any ſentence be enforced
'affecting a man in any way whatſoever in his liberty,
'life, property, or any part of his civil or natural ex-
'iſtence, without the permiſſion of the Sovereign of
'that country: ſuch is the doctrine of Spain, Portugal,
'and all the Roman Catholic countries in the world.
'Magna Charta, the foundation of civil liberty, as well
'as the Statutes of Præmunire, which ſecured eccleſiaſ-
'tical liberty, were acts of Roman Catholic Parlia-
'ments. If a foreign juriſdiction exiſt, to that con-
'ſent, and not to the Roman Catholic religion, of
'which it is no *inherent* part, are the inconveniencies of it
'to be aſcribed. All this the author concludes with an
appoſite and moſt delightful alluſion, purloined from Mon-

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ſieur Voltaire, with a trifling alteration; to wit, 'Philoſophy enters as much into the common concerns of life 'as divinity. It would be a ſtrange objection to the ſyſtem of Ariſtotle or Copernicus, that it was a foreign interference.' Bravo!

Before I proceed to the expoſure of this diffuſive kind of argument, partly falſe and partly ſophiſtical, it will be neceſſary to inſert here the *Oath of Supremacy*, which all Romaniſts abſolutely refuſe to take, and have done ſo ſince the firſt framing of it; and alſo an Extract from the Decrees of a general Council, the deciſions of which all Romaniſts now hold as articles of faith, immutable and irreverſible, not being the decrees of Popes, but of their univerſal church; the Oath taken by Romiſh Biſhops at their conſecration: and I ſhall alſo add a few extracts from the recent publications of their moſt authentic writers reſpecting the preſent immutable Articles of the Romiſh Creed.

The Oath of Supremacy is as follows:

'I —— do ſwear, that I do from my heart abhor, 'deteſt, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and poſition, that Princes excommunicated 'or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of 'Rome, by be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, 'or lay any other perſon whatſoever: and I do declare, 'that no foreign Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate, 'hath, or ought to have, any juriſdiction, power, ſuperiority, pre-eminence, or authority, eccleſiaſtical, or ſpiritual, within this realm. So help me God.'

Extract

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Extract from the third Chapter of the fourth Council of Lateran, held under Pope Innocent III. in 1215, *translated into English.*

'We excommunicate and anathematize all hereſy, 'raiſing itſelf up againſt the holy orthodox, catholic 'faith, which we have above ſet forth, condemning all 'heretics, of whatſoever titles, having divers faces, but 'connected and knitted together by their tails; for in 'reſpect to the vanity of their pretenſions they agree in 'the ſame thing.

'We leave the condemned to *condign puniſhment* by 'the preſent ſecular powers or their magiſtrates, ſuch of 'them as are clergymen being firſt degraded: the 'goods of ſuch of them as are laics being *confiſcated*; 'of ſuch as are clergymen, applied to the uſe of the 'churches of their reſpective cures.

'But we decree, that ſuch as are only ſuſpected of 'hereſy be ſtruck with the ſword of excommunication, 'till they ſhall prove their innocence reſpectively, ac- 'cording to the nature of the ſuſpicion and the quality 'of each perſon, by a proper purgation; and let them 'be avoided by all perſons till they ſhall make ſufficient 'ſatisfaction: and if they ſhall continue excommuni- 'cated for the ſpace of one year, let them be conſidered 'as condemned heretics.

'Let all ſecular powers, whatſoever be the nature 'and rank of their reſpective offices, be admoniſhed, 'perſuaded, and, if neceſſary, *compelled*, by eccleſiaſtical 'cenſures, that as they deſire to be reputed and eſteemed 'faithful,

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'faithful, they publickly take an oath, that they will, to 'the utmoſt of their power, endeavour *to exterminate* all 'ſuch as ſhall be denounced heretics by the church, out 'of all their dominions and places ſubject to their juriſ-'diction; and let them take this oath reſpectively, the 'moment they ſhall be inveſted with either ſpiritual or 'temporal power.

'But if any temporal Lord ſhall neglect to purge his 'dominions of ſuch heretical corruption, after being 'required and admoniſhed by the Church, by his Me-'tropolitans and his other provincial Biſhops ſo to do, '*let him be immediately bound in the chains of excommuni-'cation;* and if he ſhall contumaciouſly refuſe to make 'ſatisfaction and ſubmit himſelf to the Church within 'the year, *let this be ſignified to the Pope, who ſhall there-'upon declare his ſubjects abſolved from their allegiance, and 'proclaim his territories open to the juſt ſeizure and occu-'pation of Catholic Powers, who, after they ſhall have ex-'terminated the heretics, ſhall poſſeſs them without controul, 'and preſerve them in the purity of the faith, ſtill preſerv-'ing the title of the principal Lord, provided he ſhall give 'them no interruption, or oppoſe any impediment to their 'proceedings;* and let the ſame rule be obſerved with 'reſpect to thoſe who have no principal lords, *i. e.* 'republics.

'Let all Catholics who ſhall undertake a *cruſade* for 'the extermination of heretics have the ſame indulgence, 'and the ſame holy privilege, as thoſe who undertake 'the cruſade for the expulſion of the infidels from the 'Holy Land.

'We

'We decree, that not only those who profess heretical 'tenets, but all receivers, protectors, and favourers of 'heretics, are *ipso facto* excommunicated; and we 'strictly ordain and command, that after any such shall 'be publicly branded with excommunication, if they 'shall refuse to make satisfaction and submit themselves 'to the Church within a year, *they shall be infamous, nor 'shall they be admitted to any public office or council, nor to 'elect any persons to such, nor to give testimony in any cause; 'neither shall they be capable of making any wills, nor of suc-'cession, as heirs or representatives, to any estate: they shall 'be incapable of suing in any court, but may themselves be 'sued: if any such person shall happen to be a judge of any 'court, his sentence shall be null and void, nor shall any 'cause be prosecuted before him: if he shall happen to be an 'advocate, he shall not be admitted to practice; if a notary, 'instruments drawn up, prepared, witnessed, or executed by 'him, shall also be void and of no effect, but condemned 'with their guilty framer: and we command that the same 'rule be observed in all similar cases.* But if he be a 'clergyman, let him be deposed both *ab officio et beneficio*, 'that as his crime is the greater, so the greater may be 'his punishment.

'And if any such, after they have been publicly de-'nounced by the Church, shall contumaciously neglect 'to submit and make satisfaction, let them be compelled 'and driven to it by the incessant operation of the sen-'tence of excommunication. Let no clergyman admi-'nister to such pestilent wretches the sacraments of the 'Church, nor permit their bodies to Christian burial, 'nor receive their alms and oblations. If they shall act 'otherwise, let them be suspended from officiating, and

'let

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'let them not be reſtored but by the ſpecial indulgence 'of the Pope.

'We alſo add, that every Archbiſhop or Biſhop, by 'himſelf or his archdeacon, or other reſpectable per- 'ſons, ſhall twice, or at leaſt once, in every year, 'viſit each pariſh in his dioceſe, in which it is reported 'that any heretics dwell, and ſhall there oblige three or 'more credible perſons, or, if he ſhall think proper, the 'whole village, to ſwear, that if any of them ſhall 'know any heretics, or any perſons holding or frequent- 'ing ſecret conventicles, or affecting either in life or 'manners to differ from the common converſation and 'practice in life of the faithful, they will endeavour 'effectually to diſcover and point them out to the Biſhop; 'and the Biſhop ſhall call the accuſed into his preſence, 'and if they ſhall not effectually purge themſelves from 'the crimes laid to their charge, or if, after they ſhall 'have made their purgation, they ſhall perfidiouſly re- 'lapſe into their former guilt, they ſhall be canonically 'puniſhed. And if any, through damnable obſtinacy, 'declining to bind themſelves by the religious obligation 'of an oath, ſhall perhaps refuſe to ſwear, let them be 'from that inſtant reputed heretics.

The Oath ſworn by every Romiſh Biſhop at his conſe- cration is as follows. See the firſt vol. of Burnet's Hiſ- tory of the Reformation, p. 123.

'I, ——, Biſhop of ——, do ſwear that from this 'hour forward I ſhall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, 'and to the holy Church of Rome, *and to my Lord the Pope 'and his ſucceſſors canonically entering.* I ſhall not be of 'counſel

'counsel nor consent that they shall lose either life or 'member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence or 'any wrong by any means. Their counsel to me cre-'dited by them, their messages or letters, I shall not 'willingly discover to any person. The Papacy of 'Rome, the rules of the holy Fathers, and the *regality* 'of St. Peter, I shall help, maintain, and defend against 'all men. The Legate of the See apostolic, going and 'coming, I shall honourably entreat: the rights, ho-'nours, privileges, and authorities of the Church of 'Rome, and of the Pope and his successors, I shall 'cause to be conserved, defended, *augmented and pro-'moted*. I shall not be in council, treaty, or any act, 'in which any thing shall be imagined against him or 'the Church of Rome, their rights, seats, honours, or 'powers; and if I know any such to be moved or com-'passed, I shall resist it to my power; and as soon as I 'can I shall advertise him, or such as may give him 'knowledge. The rules of the holy Fathers, the decrees, 'ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, pro-'visions, and commandments apostolic, to my power I 'shall keep, and cause to be kept of others. *Heretics, 'schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, 'I shall resist and persecute to my power.* I shall come to 'the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a 'canonical impediment. The thresholds of the apostles 'I shall visit yearly, personally or by my deputy. I shall 'not alienate or sell my possessions without the Pope's 'counsel. So help me God and the holy Evangelists.'

In 1793, Dr. Troy, Romish Archbishop of Dublin, published a pamphlet, which he styled 'A Pastoral Let-'ter:' it is in truth a political tract, containing argu-

ments not a little hoſtile to the eſtabliſhed [illegible] in church and ſtate. He endeavours to prove the juſtice, expediency, and even neceſſity of the admiſſion of Romaniſts into the Legiſlature, and into all offices of truſt and confidence; and takes ſpecial care to ſupport, not without ſome degree of addreſs, his arguments, by menaces of the effects which he inſinuates muſt flow from the numbers and puiſſance of the Iriſh Romaniſts, magnified by him infinitely beyond reality. Any reaſonable man would expect that the Doctor would have endeavoured rather to extenuate than openly to aſſert and juſtify the papal juriſdiction in Ireland, which he knew Proteſtants held to be one great impediment to the admiſſion of the Romiſh claims; but it is quite otherwiſe. In page 31 of this pretended Paſtoral Letter is the following paſſage: 'It is a *fundamental article* of the Roman 'Catholic faith, that the Pope or Biſhop of Rome is 'ſucceſſor to St Peter, Prince of the Apoſtles, in that 'See; he enjoys by divine right a ſpiritual and eccleſi-'aſtical primacy, not only of honour and rank, but of '*real juriſdiction and authority*, in the univerſal church. 'Roman Catholics conceive this point as clearly eſta-'bliſhed in the ſcriptures, and by the conſtant tradition 'of the Fathers in every age, as it is by the *expreſs deci-'ſions of their general councils, which they conſider as in-'fallible authority in points of doctrine.*

Same author, page 97.—'Catholics cannot conſcien-'tiouſly abjure the eccleſiaſtical authority of the Bi-'ſhop of Rome. He is guardian of the general ca-'nons, and can alone diſpenſe with them *proprio jure*, '*or by inherent right.* Others enjoy that power by de-'legation from him. The erection, ſuppreſſion, and

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'union of bishoprics and other benefices; the elevation 'of sees to the metropolitical dignity and jurisdiction; 'the institution of general fasts and holidays; dispensa- 'tions from their observance; the regulation and in- 'spection of our liturgy; *appeals from inferior ecclesiasti- 'cal courts to his supreme tribunal; the suspension and 'restoration of bishops, and numberless other particulars of 'of our general church discipline* mentioned in the canons, 'depend on the Pope as our ecclesiastical superior, and 'are connected with his primacy jurisdiction in the 'universal church. *Henry VIII. of England was the first 'Christian prince that assumed ecclesiastical supremacy, and 'commanded an enslaved Parliament to enact it as a law of the 'state. The Catholics consider it an usurpation.*

Same author, page 102.—'The Catholic laity of 'Ireland respect their clergy, and consider it a duty to 'be regulated by their determinations in all points of 'religious doctrine. They are attached to their pastors 'and spiritual guides, who love them as their children 'in Christ. *Clergy and laity are united by the most tender 'and interesting considerations. Every effort to dissolve this 'union must prove ineffectual; interest and duty continue to 'render it indissoluble.* In adversity and prosperity they 'must rise and fall together.'

The same author, in another place, states, 'that the 'religious principles of Roman Catholics being un- 'changeable, they are applicable to all times.'

It is needless here to insert any other extracts from recent publications of Romish writers: I shall barely observe, that the same doctrines are held in a modern

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publication of Mr. Hussey, a Romish priest, who informs us in it, that he had been appointed Bishop of Waterford by the Pope. This publication he also styles a Pastoral Letter, though it is perhaps as seditious a publication as any which has appeared in modern times, provoking the Irish Romanists to insurrection, and drawing a line of eternal demarcation between them and their Protestant fellow-subjects, supported by the whole Romish host of anathemas and excommunications.

I will now proceed to answer the argument of the author of the '*Case of Ireland Re-considered*,' in support of his first position, to wit, *that men sincerely attached to the whole Romish creed may be as good and faithful subjects of the British empire as Protestants, and consequently as safely admissible to the supreme legislative and superior executive capacities.* His diffusive argument on this head, already mentioned, may be thus condensed: 'In a 'Romish state, the supremacy of the Church, or its 'spiritual authority, has no sanction, no coercive power 'in this life, and can in no way come in contact with 'civil existence; nor can its tribunal exist, so as to affect 'any man in his liberty, life, or property, without the 'permission of the sovereign of that country; and if a 'foreign jurisdiction exists in such country, it is to the 'consent of the sovereign power, and not to the Roman 'Catholic religion, of which it is no inherent part, it is 'to be attributed. In a Protestant state, such as Ireland, 'the King, Peers, and nine tenths of the Commons 'being Protestants, the consent of the state never can be 'obtained to the exercise of Romish ecclesiastical jurisdiction; therefore in such state no individual can recede 'from the Romish tenet of the supremacy of the Pope, 'though

'though Romanists should sit in Parliament, and be 'admitted to the highest offices of the state.' Though the premises in this syllogistic argument be admitted to be true, yet the conclusion will by no means follow, that no mischief will arise in a Protestant state by the admission of Romanists into the supreme legislative body, and to the exercise of the highest executive offices of the state, as I shall hereafter prove; yet the premises require examination. The major proposition, to wit, *the spiritual authority of the Pope not being an inherent part of the Romish religion, has no sanction, and cannot be exercised even in Romish states, but by the consent of the state*, is extremely sophistical; it consists in fact of two propositions; the first is, *the spiritual authority of the Pope is not an inherent part of the Romish religion.* This proposition is already clearly proved to be false, by the extracts from the Laterian Council, and from Dr. Troy, and by the rejection of the Oath of Supremacy by all Romanists. The second part of it, *that this authority has no sanction in this life, and cannot be exercised, even in Romish states, but by the consent of the state*, requires explanation.

In a Romish state, the sovereign power, whether it be a monarchy or a republic, being vested in Romanists, its consent to the execution of the decrees of their own church, of which they admit the Pope to be supreme head, is certain. Romish monarchs, and governing members of Romish republics, are, by the tenets of their religion, bound, not only to consent to the execution, but to execute the decrees of their church, as well on the persons as on the properties of their subjects: hence in Romish states the supremacy of the Pope in spirituals amplifies itself into the exercise of a most ex-

tenſive temporal juriſdiction, the ſtate either reſigning to eccleſiaſtical officers the execution of the decrees of the Church on the perſons and properties of its ſubjects, or becoming itſelf the executioner of ſuch decrees: for inſtance, in moſt Romiſh countries, ſuch as the Church deems heretics, or even ſuſpects of being ſo, are impriſoned by eccleſiaſtical officers in eccleſiaſtical priſons, and they are burned by temporal officers when the Church pronounces them heretics irreclaimable, and delivers them over to the ſecular arm; as was the caſe in England before the Reformation and during the reign of Queen Mary: therefore in Romiſh countries, the Church of Rome, and its ſupreme head the Pope, have real juriſdiction, efficient tribunals, and ſanctions to their decrees of the moſt powerful efficacy; and their decrees reach to, and are executed upon, the liberties, lives, and properties, and moſt of the temporal concerns of the ſubjects; and ſuch ſtates are themſelves the executioners of their decrees. This juriſdiction is an inherent part of the Roman Catholic religion, and its title is founded in the very eſſence of that religion, Dr. Troy ſtates, 'that 'the real juriſdiction and authority of the Pope is clearly 'eſtabliſhed by the ſcriptures and the conſtant tradition 'of the Fathers, and the expreſs deciſions of general 'councils, which Roman Catholics conſider as infallible 'authority: *it is a fundamental article of the Roman Ca-* '*tholic faith.*' This doctrine is comformable to the Lateran Council, and to the opinions of all Romiſh writers, ancient or modern, on the ſubject. If a Romiſh ſtate ſhould refuſe to execute the decrees of the Romiſh Church in what are deemed ſpiritual matters, ſuch as hereſy, and many others extending to the liberties, lives, and properties of the ſubjects, which are certainly temporal concerns,

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concerns, ſuch ſtates would ceaſe to be Roman Catholic. In ſuch ſtates it is of no moment whether ſuch power or juriſdiction be exerciſed by the Church itſelf, or by the temporal power under the orders and direction of the Church, or by the permiſſion of the temporal power, as long as the acquieſcence and obedience of the temporal power are enſured by the very tenets of their religion.

The Romiſh doctrine of the ſupremacy of the Pope in eccleſiaſtical matters is ſupported in effect and operation by Romiſh ſtates, however in political theory ſtateſmen or lawyers may ſometimes preſume partially to diſſent from it, admitting it in practice, and being themſelves its executioners. But in a Proteſtant ſtate, ſuch a tenet directly militates againſt the very exiſtence of the ſtate, is utterly inconſiſtent with the nature and eſſence of the government, and contrary to its vital principles, both in theory and practice. In Romiſh ſtates, the excluſive juriſdiction of the Pope in all ſpiritual matters, ſo far as the cognizance of the cauſe and pronouncing ſentence, either in the firſt inſtance or on appeal, is admitted to exiſt; but, ſays this author, he is not permitted to execute his ſentence, where it affects temporals, without the approbation of the temporal ſovereignty of the Romiſh ſtates; therefore his ſupremacy is not admitted in ſuch ſtates.—This is a miſerable ſophiſm; for as long as ſuch ſtates continue Romiſh, they are bound by the tenets of their religion to execute, and do execute his ſentences, affecting both the lives and properties of their ſubjects, that is, their temporal concerns and intereſts, and do thereby effectually admit his ſupremacy, and become his miniſters, ſervants, and executioners.

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As to the minor propoſition of this author's ſyllogiſtic argument, to wit, *that in Ireland, a Proteſtant ſtate, the conſent of the ſtate cannot be procured to the exerciſe of the juriſdiction of the Romiſh Church, and of its head the Pope*; I believe it is now true, and I hope it will always continue ſo; becauſe I hope our rulers in this Proteſtant Britiſh empire never will be induced by falſehood, fraud, and ſophiſtry, to transfer to Romaniſts the political power of the ſtate, which they would not, nor could not, if they continued Romaniſts, fail to uſe for the introduction of their own faith as orthodox, and the ſuppreſſion of the Proteſtant faith as heretical, and conſequently for the eſtabliſhment of the Pope's ſupremacy among their other religious errors. To give this minor propoſition the effect which this author intends, it is not ſufficient that it be admitted to be now true, but it muſt be ſuppoſed that in Ireland it will always continue true, that is, that though Romaniſts be admitted into the ſupreme legiſlative and executive authorities of the ſtate, yet they never will be able, on account of their preſent weakneſs and poverty, to overturn the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, and conſequently that it cannot be hurtful to the ſtate to admit them.—This is at beſt a negative argument; it does not tend to prove that it would be uſeful to the ſtate to admit them, but that it would not be pernicious or detrimental to do ſo; and it at the ſame time, in ſome meaſure, admits, that if they were powerful it would be dangerous for Proteſtants to admit them, and conſequently that Proteſtants have a good right to believe that they would uſe any political power they may acquire, for the ſubverſion of the preſent eſtabliſhment; and this the author more explicitly admits in more than one paſſage, intimating to Iriſh Proteſtants, that if they will admit Romaniſts to

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the ſupreme legiſlative and executive capacities, they may have the guaranty of England for the ſecurity of their church eſtabliſhment; that is, in other words, 'Your church eſtabliſhment, which in the preſent conſtitution of the ſtate is ſecure, will be rendered inſecure by your admiſſion of us into the ſupreme legiſlative and executive capacities; and in that caſe you muſt apply to your friend and neighbour for that ſecurity which you had in your own hands, but which you have fooliſhly relinquiſhed.' And this argument he makes uſe of, when he is apparently endeavouring to diſſuade the Iriſh nation from conſenting to an Incorporating Union with Great Britain, and conſequently to looſen the bands of connexion of the two countries.

The concluſion, however, drawn by this author from theſe premiſes, is not warranted by them, though the truth of the premiſes be admitted; for, even in that caſe, it can be proved that much miſchief may ariſe to the Proteſtant ſtate of Ireland from the admiſſion of Romaniſts to the legiſlative and higheſt executive capacities; and firſt from this author's own ſtatement. In the ſecond page of his pamphlet he ſtates the proportion of Iriſh Romaniſts to Iriſh Proteſtants to be four or five to one. This is a groſs exaggeration; but I am now arguing from his own aſſertions. In a commercial country, property is continually changing hands: landed eſtates, where there is no reſtraint of alienation, change maſters, not ſo rapidly as perſonal property, but though in a ſlower, yet not leſs certain progreſſion: in the courſe of trade, the induſtrious and indigent are continually emerging into opulence; landed property in this country is every day at market, and by purchaſe comes to the poſſeſſion

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poſſeſſion of the ſucceſsful merchant, mechanic, and farmer: hence if in Ireland the maſs of the people, that is, five to one, be Romaniſts, though at preſent the bulk of the property of the nation be in the hands of Proteſtants, yet it will ſhift into thoſe of Romaniſts, by a progreſſion certain, and, conſidering the alleged diſproportion of numbers, not very ſlow. The Iriſh Romaniſts have been very lately admitted to every civil franchiſe enjoyed by the Iriſh Proteſtants, except to the capacity of ſitting in Parliament, and of occupying about thirty of the greateſt offices of the ſtate; they are even rendered capable of becoming members of all corporations in the kingdom. If then they ſhall be admitted to ſit in Parliament, they muſt at a period not very diſtant, as property, admitted by this author to be the baſis of repreſentation, ſhifts to their ſcale, be the repreſentatives in Parliament of all the counties, and of all the boroughs diſtinguiſhed by the name of pot-walloping, and, by leſs rapid degrees, of all or moſt of the other boroughs in the kingdom; that is, they will in a ſhort time compoſe the whole, or at leaſt a vaſt majority of the Houſe of Commons. Their Peers (at preſent indeed very few) will ſit in the Houſe of Lords; ſo that in our ſupreme legiſlative body they will form one, and infinitely the moſt powerful branch, and have a conſiderable influence in the ſecond, and will have power ſufficient to force the third or regal branch to a compliance with all their ſchemes, and oblige it to fill all the great offices of the ſtate with Romaniſts, and introduce as many of them as may amount to a majority into the Houſe of Peers. Hence it is obvious, from this author's own ſtatement, that by admitting Romaniſts to form part of the ſupreme legiſlative power of the ſtate, they will by degrees ſwallow up the whole,

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awe the executive into their meaſures, and ſubvert the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment in Ireland from the foundation; for a Romaniſt is bound, by the tenets of his religion, to the beſt of his power to exterminate all heretics, and deſtroy all heretical eſtabliſhments; and this author will not, I believe, deny, that all Romaniſts hold all Proteſtants to be heretics; and as he is alſo by the ſame religion bound to eſtabliſh it in the room of the one ſubverted, and to execute the decrees of the Church of Rome and of its head the Pope, the ſupremacy in ſpirituals, to which a vaſt temporal power is annexed, and from which it is inſeparable, will be in effect and reality torn from the ſtate and veſted in the Pope, with his conſiſtory, nuncios, and miniſters; and the halcyon days of Queen Mary, and of the bonfires and triumphs of Popery, will return; the writ *de Heretico comburendo* will again receive the ſanction of Parliament. Such is the ſtatement by which this author endeavours to perſuade Iriſh Proteſtants to betray the political power of the ſtate, and the ſecurity of their own lives and properties, into Romiſh hands!

But waving all advantage which the groſs exaggerations and miſtatements of this author, or the weakneſs of his arguments, may afford, I will expoſe the miſchief to the Proteſtant ſtate of Ireland which muſt ariſe by the admiſſion of Romaniſts into Parliament, from the very nature of its conſtitution and government, and the true ſtate of its population, relative numbers, and views of the different claſſes of its inhabitants.

The ſovereign power of Ireland is veſted in the King, Lords, and Commons; and whatever prince wears the diadem

diadem of Great Britain, he is *ipso facto* King of Ireland: its population cannot much exceed three millions of people; one third at leaſt of the inhabitants are Proteſtants, two thirds only are Romaniſts: upwards of two millions of the inhabitants are in ſuch a ſtate of poverty, that they cannot pay a yearly tax to the ſtate of four-pence per head without the greateſt diſtreſs, and nine tenths of theſe are Romaniſts. (See Appendix, No. 1.) All ſubjects of a ſtate, who deny that the ſupreme power by which that ſtate is conſtitutionally governed is excluſively entitled to enact and execute all laws for the good government of that ſtate, and who maintain, as part of their religious creed, that a power exiſts extraneous and ſeparate from that ſtate, and not under its control and dominion, which can make laws, and enforce their execution among the ſubjects of that ſtate in many particulars, are enemies to its independence, and traitors. Iriſh Romaniſts univerſally maintain, as an immutable tenet of their religion, the ſupremacy of the Pope in all ſpiritual matters within this kingdom. See the above quotations from Dr. Troy (who ſtyles the power of the ſtate to determine within itſelf, and by its own judicatories, all eccleſiaſtical cauſes, an *uſurpation*), and all other Romiſh writers on the ſame ſubject. Romaniſts will not take the Oath of Supremacy before ſtated. It is utterly impoſſible and impracticable to ſeparate a vaſt portion of *temporal* power and influence from *ſpiritual* ſupremacy: hereſy is of ſpiritual cognizance, ſo is matrimony; Romaniſts hold it to be a ſacrament; and as to its validity, their canons are in many inſtances different from ours, they declaring marriages null and void, which by our laws are valid, and *vice verſâ*. What degree of temporal power and influence does the ſupremacy in ſpirituals derive from the excluſive juriſdiction reſpecting hereſy?

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herefy? Look to the Lateran Council already quoted! What degree of temporal power and influence does the excluſive matrimonial juriſdiction confer? Legitimacy and ſucceſſion to property real and perſonal, and almoſt every combination of circumſtances under which ſuch ſucceſſion might be claimed, depend on the matrimonial juriſdiction. A thouſand other inſtances can be adduced of the inſeparability of ſupreme juriſdiction in ſpiritual, from vaſt power and influence in temporal concerns. The Popes for ages have uſurped temporal authority as incident to their ſpiritual ſupremacy in various Chriſtian ſtates, and under that title alone; and as to the extent and influence of this juriſdiction, the decline of the Pope's power as a temporal prince does not in the leaſt diminiſh them: as a temporal prince, the Pope never was conſiderable; the eſſence of his uſurpation is in his dominion over the minds of Romaniſts in the ſtate; if they are very numerous, they muſt be dangerous in proportion to their numbers, wealth, and influence in a Proteſtant ſtate, though the Pope ſhould be completely ſtripped of all his dominions and territories. The tyranny exerted by the Pope in temporals, under colour of his ſpiritual ſupremacy, is painted in our hiſtories, and in the preambles of the ſtatutes enacted both in England and Ireland for aboliſhing his uſurpation. See the Engliſh ſtatutes 25th Henry VIII. chap. 21.; 32d Henry VIII. chap. 38.; 1ſt of Elizabeth, chap. 1.; and Iriſh ſtatutes 28th Henry VIII. chap. 13. 19.; 33d Henry VIII. chap. 6.; 2d of Elizabeth, chap. 1. The late Lord Cheſterfield, whom no man will accuſe of much prejudice in religious matters, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1745, expreſſed himſelf, in his ſpeech from the Throne to the Iriſh Parliament, in the following manner: 'However,

'I leave

'I leave to your conſideration whether nothing further 'can be done, either by new laws, or the more effectual 'execution of thoſe in being, to ſecure this nation againſt 'the great number of Papiſts, *whoſe ſpeculative errors* '*would only deſerve pity, did not their pernicious influence* '*on civil ſociety require and authorize reſtaint.*' This Lord was one of thoſe men, who, according to the author of '*The caſe of Ireland re-conſidered*,' was prejudiced and ill-formed, when compared with himſelf! And now I aſk this author, whether he can produce a ſingle inſtance in which a ſtate having ſufficient power to exclude all traitors from its ſovereignty, voluntarily called them to the exerciſe of ſupreme power? This would be the caſe, if Romaniſts in Ireland were admitted into the Houſes of Lords and Commons; for in theſe Houſes, in conjunction with the King, and not in the King alone, is lodged the ſupreme power of the ſtate; and ſuch is the peculiar characteriſtic of our conſtitution, which is a limited monarchy: if the Government of Ireland were guilty of ſuch folly, it would richly merit political diſſolution, and might be juſtly termed *felo de ſe*. Shall we give voices in the ſupreme legiſlative aſſembly, inveſted with the ſovereign power, to thoſe who are taught by their religion not only to renounce and diſobey, but to vilify and traduce the ſupremacy of that Legiſlature, and who thus ally ſuperſtition with treaſon, and, as it were, ſanctify rebellion? In the Britiſh empire, experience has ſhown the folly, nay madneſs, of inveſting Romaniſts with ſupreme power. King James the Second, who was perverted from the Proteſtant religion to Popery during his exile, no ſooner aſcended the Throne, than he ſet every engine to work, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing Popery on the ruins of the religion of his country: he was a prince

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not deſtitute of qualities which might have ſecured to him the affection of his ſubjects, both as a man and a monarch; but his unfortunate attachment to Popery made him ſet at nought all political and moral obligation; regardleſs of his coronation oath, he made uſe of all the advantages which his ſituation afforded him, to violate every principle of the conſtitution, for the ſole purpoſe of ſurrendering the ſupremacy of the ſtate to a foreign judicatory, attempting to ſubjugate the independent Britiſh empire to the Papacy, to ſhare the regal authority with the Pope, and to reign partly as his vaſſal: the obligation of a ſolemn oath yielded to his bigotry, and he reduced to practice the Romiſh doctrine, that all oaths, the obligations of which militate in any reſpect againſt the tenets of their church, are in themſelves impious, unlawful, and void. His conduct is a perpetual leſſon to Proteſtants, not to rely with too much confidence on the oaths of Romaniſts, the obligations of which operate againſt their religious opinions.

The above arguments alſo prove the miſchief which muſt ariſe from committing to Romaniſts the higher executive offices of the ſtate; they would be thereby entruſted with the execution of laws, which they are bound in conſcience to reſiſt, and which they look upon as impious and heretical. Common ſenſe exclaims againſt ſuch monſtrous and deſtructive projects of innovation! All Proteſtants muſt for ever deprecate and oppoſe the granting any part of the ſupreme power of the ſtate, whether legiſlative or executive, to Romaniſts, who muſt ever direct that power unceaſingly to the deſtruction of the Proteſtant religion, and the eſtabliſhment of their own; and this they can never have any reaſonable hope to effect,

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fers by a total change in the conſtitution. It is impoſſible that any Romaniſt can honeſtly and zealouſly adminiſter the affairs of a Proteſtant ſtate; he would ceaſe to be a Romaniſt, if he did not perſeveringly aim at ſupremacy, and the paramount eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh religion. Romaniſts could not be content to ſhare equal power with thoſe they believe to be hereticks: the moſt ſacred engagements (as we ſee, among a thouſand inſtances, in the conduct of James the Second), if contrary to, or not coinciding with, the intereſts of their church, are by that church diſſolved, and declared void.

The argument of this author, that repreſentation by the Britiſh conſtitution is in the ſame ratio with property, that Proteſtant property is to that of Romiſh property in Ireland in the proportion of ten to one, and that conſequently no danger can accrue to the Proteſtant intereſt by the admiſſion of Romaniſts into Parliament, I have anſwered pretty fully already, from the fluctuation of property in a commercial ſtate, from the relative numbers of Iriſh Proteſtants and Romaniſts, and the avowed political creed of the latter claſs. But though I were to admit, that property and conſequent repreſentation would always remain in the ſame ratio, yet I can point out many miſchiefs to the eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate, which would moſt certainly flow from the admiſſion of Romaniſts to ſeats in Parliament. When King James the Second undertook the ſubverſion of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment in England and Ireland, the two great branches of the ſupreme authority of both nations, to wit, the Houſes of Lords and Commons, conſiſted of Proteſtants only. The ſupreme executive, being only one branch of the ſovereign authority of the empire, attempted to carry into execution

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execution this desperate project: history informs us it was very near succeeding, and would with certainty have succeeded, at least in Ireland, had not a great continental power, nearly allied to the Throne, interfered for our preservation, roused the energy of the empire, and defeated a design founded in bigotry, and consequent perjury. At that time one branch of the supreme authority was near effecting so desperate an enterprise; what mischiefs and innovations may not be expected, in case the other two branches, or either of them, and particularly the popular branch, the House of Commons, should become even partially corrupted with Romish Bigotry, hostile, and incurably so, to the constitution both in Church and State! All persons know that the House of Commons, if uninfluenced by the monarchy and aristocracy, could subvert the state; it did so once, and if led by desperate and wicked politicians, might do so again: the very existence of our political establishment depends on the constitutional influence of the King and Peers among the Commons; and is it consistent with the rules of political wisdom to suffer any part of that assembly to be composed of the determined, deadly, irreclaimable enemies of the constitution, and of the independence of the empire? This author supposes that a tenth part of that House would be immediately occupied by Romish representatives, in case they were admitted to sit in parliament; but whatever their number might be at first, it certainly would constantly increase, from the shifting of property in commercial countries to that class of subjects which is most numerous. The concession then to Romanists of the capacity of sitting in Parliament, would be the immediate admission of thirty members into the House of Commons, determined enemies of the constitution in Church and State,

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who would be always ready to join any diſcontented party in Parliament in oppoſition to the Crown and its Miniſters; any ſet of profligate deſperadoes; the profeſſed patrons of two oppoſition meaſures, dignified with the ſpecious and impoſing titles of *Emancipation and Reform*, ſignifying, in the vocabulary of the Iriſh Rebels, *Popery and Republicaniſm* (as is fully proved in the Reports of the Secret Committees of the Britiſh and Iriſh Houſe of Lords and Commons), or in any other meaſure for the deſtruction of the conſtitution. Romiſh Iriſh members of Parliament would ſupport emancipation from the principles of their religion, and reform as ancillary to emancipation, becauſe moſt of the boroughs are at preſent under the influence of Proteſtants; and though Romaniſts are rendered capable of being members of corporations by the act of 1793 in their favour, yet it will take ſome time before its operation can inſure to them any domineering intereſt in boroughs: beſides, the Iriſh Romaniſts are now almoſt univerſally determined Republicans, as I ſhall hereafter ſhew.

It is pretty certain, if Romaniſts were admiſſible into Parliament, that a greater number of them would obtain ſeats, than their property entitles them to expect, on the ſcale laid down by this author; for the loweſt orders of the Iriſh population are almoſt all Romaniſts, and particularly the Iriſh peaſantry. Mr. Tone, in his State of Ireland, drawn up for the uſe of the French Convention, ſtates that the whole of the Iriſh peaſantry may be ſaid to be Romaniſts, and ſemi-barbarous. The Iriſh Proteſtant Nobility and Gentry, after the paſſing of the act which enabled Romaniſts to vote at elections of members of Parliament, ſeemed to be ſeized with a mania for making

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'and generous for the Government to apply part of it 'at leaſt to the ſupport (that is, eſtabliſhment) of Iriſh 'Romiſh prieſts.'

The poſition of this author, the inconteſtable truth of which he aſſerts with ſuch dogmatic aſſurance, to wit, *that every ſtate ought to eſtabliſh the religious ſect which is moſt numerous, if the utility of Religion in a State be admitted,* is firſt to be examined; becauſe, as the author has frequently ſtated the Iriſh Romaniſts to be moſt numerous in Ireland, he in fact lays it down as a poſition, the truth of which cannot be diſputed, *that Popery ought to be eſtabliſhed by the Iriſh Government, and the revenues of the Church applied to the ſupport of Romiſh prieſts.* Here then he tells us fairly and openly, that equality of privileges, and a ſhare in the ſovereignty of the ſtate, will not content Iriſh Romaniſts; *that the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment muſt and ought to be deſtroyed, and Popery placed in its room;* and that the truth of this laſt propoſition is inconteſtable. But I cannot agree in the alledged inconteſtable truth of this poſition. I admit that Religion is both uſeful and neceſſary in a State; it diſpoſes the minds of men to the exerciſe of all the moral virtues, and to a cheerful ſubmiſſion to that degree of ſubordination which is the principal link of connexion in all ſocieties; it has prime influence in curbing unruly paſſions, and reſtraining the turbulence of inordinate appetites and deſires; it therefore ought to be cheriſhed and encouraged by all rulers of States and Empires: but I cannot admit that a religious eſtabliſhment is to be always regulated by the number of the ſubjects of a ſtate maintaining particular dogmas, if ſuch dogmas are found, by the beſt informed and moſt reſpectable part of the ſtate, to be inconſiſtent

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conſiſtent with the nature and conſtitution of the ſociety, and ſubverſive of the very frame of it: I cannot admit, that Chriſtianity is to be treated as a mere engine of ſtate, though true Chriſtianity is certainly a great prop of the ſtate: nor can I ever admit, that uſurpation of part of the ſovereignty of the ſtate, or tranſlation of it to a foreign power, are any parts of Chriſtianity; and although the rabble of a country ſhould maintain ſuch a pernicious doctrine as a tenet of religion, and although the rabble in every country exceed the wealthy and informed part of the community, I cannot conceive that the government of a country is obliged to abdicate part of its ſovereign authority, and conſent to the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a divided power, of an *imperium in imperio*, though the rabble ſhould be deſirous, on the ſcore of religion, to eſtabliſh ſuch a kind of mixed government, as in itſelf, in its very nature, contains the ſeeds of anarchy and confuſion.

The deſires or wiſhes of the majority of the ſubjects of a State cannot be complied with, without evident deſtruction of the State, in many inſtances. In all States in the world, the poor exceed the rich in number, and they univerſally wiſh for a diviſion of the property of the wealthy; yet laws for an equal diviſion of property, real and perſonal, of the nature of agrarian laws, are held to be deſtructive to all ſtates, and ſubverſive of all induſtry, arts, and ſciences: and ſurely property, its acquiſition and preſervation, act as powerfully on the paſſions and prejudices of the people in general as religion, or the maintenance or ſubverſion of religious eſtabliſhments: and political writers might as well maintain that laws for the equal diviſion of property ſhould be

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enacted by the State, as that it ſhould eſtabliſh that Sect of Religion, whoſe votaries among its ſubjects were moſt numerous.

This author admits, that the repreſentatives of the people in Parliament, or the Commons, the popular and moſt efficient branch of the ſupreme authority of the State, are to be elected by the people, reckoned according to their property, not their number. He aſſerts, that the ſupreme authority of the State can juſtly apply the Revenues of the Church to the ſupport and eſtabliſhment of any religion it may think proper; and yet aſſerts, in contradiction to theſe premiſes, that the State is bound to eſtabliſh that ſect whoſe votaries are moſt numerous, and not that whoſe votaries poſſeſs moſt property. How infinitely greater does the abſurdity of ſuch deduction appear, when we reflect that the expediency of the eſtabliſhment of a Religion ſubverſive of the independence and the very exiſtence of the State is ſupported by ſuch arguments!

Governments certainly act wiſely in ſuiting their laws to the eſtabliſhed opinions of the maſs of their ſubjects; but in collecting the opinions of that maſs, number is not ſo much to be regarded as property, ſtation, rank, and reſpectability. The multitude is even proverbially ignorant. Information and judgment, the reſult of education, which the generality of mankind never attain, and which is not in fact neceſſary for their ſtations and occupations in life, are almoſt peculiar to the wealthy, or at leaſt to thoſe who are above indigence or the avocations of manual labour. In Ireland, if the opinion of the maſs of the ſubjects, collected in the manner

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before mentioned, is to determine the religious eſtabliſhment, the weight of the Proteſtant body, though inferior in number, would infinitely outweigh that of the Romaniſts; and the Proteſtant faith muſt continue to be the eſtabliſhed religion, if the predominant opinion of the ſubjects, aſcertained by the common rules of reaſon and true political wiſdom, is to be the regulator of the conduct of the State in point of religion. Forty-nine parts out of fifty of the landed eſtates in Ireland are in the poſſeſſion of Proteſtants, and nineteen parts out of twenty of perſonal eſtates; ſo that they exceed the Romaniſts in wealth in the proportion of forty to one at leaſt (See Appendix, No. 1.), and not in the proportion of ten to one only, as this author, and the writer he undertakes to anſwer, have aſſumed. Of two millions of Iriſh inhabitants, ſo indigent as not to be able to pay a tax of four-pence per head yearly to the State, nine tenths are Romaniſts; in fact, almoſt the whole beggary of the kingdom are Romaniſts: how ſuperlative, then, is the audacity of this Romiſh writer, in maintaining that Popery ought to be and muſt be the eſtabliſhed religion in Ireland, becauſe it is the religion of the greateſt number of Iriſh ſubjects! Is the mob of a nation to determine its religious eſtabliſhment? Is the mob to ſubject the nation to a foreign power?

But this ſelf-evidently true poſition, in the opinion of this writer, that Popery ought to be the eſtabliſhed religion in Ireland, becauſe Iriſh Romaniſts out-number Iriſh Proteſtants, may be very eaſily refuted even on the ſcore of numbers, and even admitting that ſuperiority of number of ſubjects, reckoned not by property and reſpectability, but by the poll, ſhould determine the eſtabliſhment of the religion of the State; for Ireland is not a kingdom

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kingdom ſeparate and diſtinct from Great Britain. Even in its preſent ſtate it is ſo cloſely connected with Great Britain, that the ableſt writers againſt an Incorporating Union of the two nations found their ſtrongeſt arguments on this poſition, that the preſent connexion between Great Britain and Ireland is ſo ſtrong as to be nearly indiſſoluble, and they deduce, that therefore no further Union is neceſſary. Certain it is, that the preſent connexion of the two iſlands approaches very near to a complete Union. The kingdom of Ireland, by the laws of the land, is for ever annexed to, dependant upon, and inſeparably united to, the imperial crown of Great Britain. Whoever is King of Great Britain, is *ipſo facto* King of Ireland. No Act of Parliament can paſs in Ireland till after it has been ſent into England, and has there the great ſeal of England affixed to it. Ireland is notoriouſly part of the Britiſh Empire; the King of Great Britain is obliged at his coronation to ſwear that he will maintain the Proteſtant religion in Ireland. The inhabitants of Great Britain are almoſt all Proteſtants. If my memory does not deceive me, an inquiry into the number of Romaniſts in England was a few years ago made with great accuracy, by the authority of Government, on complaints of ſome zealous Proteſtants, that Romaniſts were increaſing in number. It appeared on that enquiry, that the complaints were ill-founded; that the number of Romaniſts had conſiderably decreaſed in England ſince the Revolution, and that the whole number of Romaniſts in England, when the inquiry was made, did not exceed eighteen thouſand. Adding the population of Great Britain and Ireland together, the Proteſtants will be found to outnumber the Romaniſts at leaſt in the proportion of ſix to one in the Britiſh Empire in Europe; and hence this

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author's argument for the eſtabliſhment of Popery and ſubverſion of the Proteſtant religion, on the ſcore of numbers, in any part of the Britiſh European dominions, will be found, like many of his other arguments, to make directly againſt his purpoſe.

As this author could not ſeriouſly entertain the hope, ſanguine as he is, that the rulers of the Britiſh Empire would be duped by his abſurd arguments to overturn the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment in Ireland for the purpoſe of ſubſtituting Popery in its place, he proceeds to allege, that the eſtabliſhment of any religion by the State is utterly unneceſſary, wiſhing at leaſt to deſtroy what his party is hopeleſs of obtaining; and this modern political principle, as he ſtates it, he ſupports by the following aſſertion: *Popery has anſwered all the true purpoſes of religion in Ireland without an eſtabliſhment.* From his confederates, the Atheiſts of France, he has borrowed this modern political principle; but his ſupport of it from the efficacy in Ireland of uneſtabliſhed Popery, alleging that it has anſwered all true purpoſes of religion, is as glaring, as notorious a falſehood, as any contained in his pamphlet, or in any other publication, ancient or modern. The author admits, in the ſame page (40), *that Religion is a great help to Morality, Good Order, and Government.* Let us now examine the effects of Popery in Ireland by this criterion. The Engliſh ſettled in Ireland before the Reformation, were for the moſt part always attached to England: they depended on England for ſupport. A conſtant war was kept up between the Engliſh ſettlers in a conſiderable diſtrict of Ireland, called the Pale, and the native Iriſh: they would not mix or intermarry with them. The native Iriſh and theſe Engliſh ſettlers

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ſettlers and their deſcendants, though inhabiting that part of Ireland for ſome centuries before, remained two diſtinct and ſeparate nations in the ſame iſland, and perſecuting each other, in a predatory and deſtructive war, with the utmoſt rancour; but no ſooner had the Reformation been introduced into Ireland, which it was not with any very material effect till the reign of King James the Firſt, than the natives and theſe Engliſh ſettlers began to unite and form alliances. Their mutual enmity abated, and they joined in a rancorous hatred of the Engliſh nation, and hoſtility to it; the old Engliſh ſettlers growing as inveterate as the native Iriſh againſt the nation from which they ſprung, joining in all the ſchemes for ſevering the iſland from England for ever, and rendering it an Independent State. Such a project indeed had been always cheriſhed by the native Iriſh, but was always oppoſed by the Engliſh ſettlers till after the Reformation. From this darling purſuit of the native Iriſh before the Reformation, ſtrengthened by the junction of the Engliſh ſettlers with them after that period, a junction entirely effected by their common attachment to the doctrines of the Romiſh Church; and from ſuch confederacy, cemented by bigotry, and inflamed by religious fury againſt their fellow-ſubjects, ſprung Deſmond's and Tyrone's rebellions in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the horrible rebellion and maſſacre in that of Charles the Firſt, and the obſtinate and deſtructive rebellion in the reign of William and Mary. In each of theſe rebellions, the moſt horrible cruelties were exerciſed by the Romiſh inſurgents on all Proteſtants who fell into their hands; and the nation was three times ſucceſſively deſolated, and the Romaniſts, as vanquiſhed rebels, reduced to abject poverty, from which that have not yet emerged. Above one half of the inhabit-

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ants, at each time, perifhed by famine and the fword; multitudes deferted the kingdom; all improvements were deftroyed; the progrefs of induftry was effectually impeded; arts and fciences were banifhed; and Ireland, by fuch means, though intimately connected with the richeft, moft civilized and induftrious nation in the world, is now a century behind the reft of Europe in civilization and every fpecies of valuable improvement, all owing to the fuperftitious attachment of a conſiderable portion of its inhabitants to the Romifh faith, in oppofition to the Proteftant eftablifhment. A large portion of its natives, all Romanifts, is by the fame cauſe continued in a femi-barbarous ftate. (See Tone's State of Ireland, for the uſe of the French Convention.) In fhort, all the calamities which, for a courſe of two hundred years paſt and upwards, have overwhelmed this unhappy country, in the catalogue of which muſt be included the late rebellion (which this author, with ſufficient confidence, aſſerts was not a Romifh rebellion), and the murder in cold blood of all Proteſtants who fell into the hands of the inſurgents, have had their real ſource in the Popery of part of the inhabitants of Ireland. *Such is the aſſiſtance which Popery without an eſtabliſhment has afforded to Morality, Good Order, and Government, within this kingdom! and ſuch the true purpoſes of Religion which it has anſwered!*

This author's next poſition is, that the Revenue of the Church is part of the common ſtock left to the diſcretion of the State to employ to the beſt advantage of the *Community*; from whence he deduces that it may juſtly withhold it from the ſupport of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment; not without throwing out a ſtrong hint of the wiſdom and generoſity of applying it, or at leaſt a part of it, to the

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the ſupport or eſtabliſhment of Romiſh prieſts in Ireland.

The Revenues and Property of the Church are by the Britiſh Conſtitution juſt as far diſpoſable of by the State as the revenues and property of the Laity, and no further. The State has a right to demand a reaſonable part of the property of all its ſubjects, laity and clergy, by way of tax, for the ſupport of civil and military eſtabliſhments, ſufficient to ſecure the nation in peace at home, and cauſe it to be reſpected by foreign nations, to repel and puniſh their aggreſſions. Until of late years, when the regular ſittings of convocations of the clergy came to be diſcontinued, they taxed themſelves, and were not ſubject to taxation by the Commons. But this author means by his poſition, that the State has a right to ſeize on all the revenues and property of the Church at its pleaſure, and to apply it to what uſe it pleaſes, that is, to confiſcate it. This doctrine he very explicitly avows and maintains in the 31ſt page of his pamphlet. The State, being eſtabliſhed for the protection, and not for the deſtruction of property, has no more right, by the Britiſh Conſtitution, to act in ſuch a manner in reſpect to the Church, than has to ſeize on and confiſcate all the eſtates and proper of the Laity; neither has the State, by the ſame Con - tution, any right to lay any greater tax on eccleſi ical than on lay property. Some of our countrymen who have been educated in France, are conſtantly debaſi our language by introducing Galliciſms into our phraſeology: in the ſame way, thoſe who have learned their olitics in the modern French ſchool, are for ever obtruding the flagitious, anarchical, political principles of the French Atheiſts upon us, as if they were part of our conſtitu-

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tional principles, endeavouring thus to corrupt and debaſe our conſtitution. This author betrays his French inſtitution and politics, and his utter ignorance of the conſtitution of his country, in numberleſs inſtances, one of which is, his doctrine reſpecting the inexpediency and inutility of a church eſtabliſhment, and the juſtice of the confiſcation of all church revenues. Under the influence, or rather pretended influence, of this doctrine, the French Atheiſts robbed their national clergy of all ſupport, and then exterminated them, and all Chriſtianity, with fire and ſword; juſtifying their robbery and ſacrilege by this doctrine; their murders and baniſhments, by the neceſſity of ridding themſelves of the people they had robbed: indeed it has been, in all ages, the practice of French robbers to murder thoſe they have plundered. Such are a few of the unconſtitutional doctrines which this Romiſh writer has publiſhed for the peruſal of the ſubjects of the Britiſh Empire! and ſuch the arguments by which he attempts to recommend and juſtify the ſubverſion of our conſtitution in Church and State, and the erection of Popery on its ruins!

Further to convince my readers, that admiſſion into the Senate and great offices of the State will not content the Romaniſts, and that they aim at nothing leſs than the overthrow of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment in Ireland, I will quote ſome of this author's complaints on the ſubject of tithes, almoſt the whole ſupport of the parochial Proteſtant clergy of Ireland: and will at the ſame time note their falſity and malice, thinking this the proper place for doing ſo, as I am expoſing his unfounded aſſertions reſpecting the property of the Church. In page 30 he obſerves, 'The religion of one man out of 'four

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' four is Proteſtant. This religion is endowed with the ' tithe of the whole kingdom, beſide great property in ' land, an immenſe church eſtabliſhment.' In page 31 he writes thus: ' Among the peaſantry, the proportion ' of Roman Catholics is much greater (than four to one). ' After paying a tithe, *exacted generally with great rigour*, ' to ſupport the eſtabliſhed religion, of which they never ' hear but by the tithe proctor, they muſt out of their po- ' verty pay ſomething to their own prieſt, who, nearly ' as poor as themſelves, lives with them, and renders ' them many ſervices.' In page 56, with reſpect to tithes, he thus expreſſes himſelf: ' This tax, and the ' ſeverity with which it is collected, is one of the great- ' eſt grievances the people labour under;' ſo that, according to this writer, the payment of tithes to the Proteſtant clergy by the Iriſh Romaniſts is a grievance to them as heavy at leaſt as excluſion from the Senate and the great offices of the State, and conſequently muſt be alſo redreſſed before they will conſent to an Union. Very happy it is for Proteſtants, and ſufficient to put them on their guard, that theſe Romiſh writers in general, when they plead for an extenſion of privileges to Romaniſts, before a Proteſtant tribunal, are ſo far tranſported by the rancour of their ſect, that they cannot refrain from venting their venom againſt the Proteſtant religion and its paſtors, even by the very intereſt of the ſect whoſe cauſe they are pleading, nor conceal their projects of ſubverſion of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment on the attainment of theſe privileges, at the very time they are ſoliciting for them; nor their intentions to uſe them, in caſe they ſhall be inveſted with them, for the deſtruction of the very people from whom they are ſoliciting them. Their indiſcreet impetuoſity makes their claims appear

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as reaſonable as the ſolicitation of a murderer would be, who ſhould humbly requeſt you to give him your ſword for the purpoſe of plunging it into your heart. I will now proceed to examine the complaints of this writer reſpecting tithes.

In the firſt place he ſtyles Tithes a Tax, to expoſe them to popular odium; the maſs of the people in every country being adverſe to the payment of Taxes. Taxes are certain ſums of money aſſeſſed on, and levied from, the ſubjects of the realm, by the lawful authority of Parliament, to be applied to the ſupport of Government and other public purpoſes. Tithes predial and mixt, the only tithes paid in this kingdom, are certain duties to be paid out of the produce and profits of lands, and beaſts fed on lands, in nature of rent; but to be paid in kind, as all rents were heretofore paid in this nation, before money became ſo plentiful in Europe as in the preſent, and for a few immediately preceding ages. In fact, tithes are a rent with which all the lands in the kingdom are chargeable, for time immemorial, by the common law of the realm; and the clergy have been endowed with them by a title more ancient by ages than the title of any ſubject of this or any other kingdom in Europe, to his particular landed eſtate. The only difference between tithes as a rent, and the rent of any man's landed eſtate, is, that the rents reſerved on landed eſtates in this kingdom are certain ſums of money to be paid in lieu of a ſhare of the produce; and tithes are an uncertain duty, being one tenth of the produce payable in kind, and therefore varying in quantity every year, as the crop varies, being greater or leſs, as the crop is greater or leſs annually. Every perſon whoſe lands are subject to

tithes,

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tithes, if he purchaſed the lands himſelf, bought them ſubject to the duty or rent of tithes; if he inherited them from his anceſtors, the purchaſing anceſtor, whoever he was, took them ſubject to the payment of tithes: from hence may be diſcovered either the ignorance or malice of this author, or both, in ſtyling tithes a tax. He next ſtates, *that this tax (that is, tithes) is exacted with great rigour and ſeverity.* This is a very direct and impudent falſehood; and as this writer has himſelf a landed eſtate in Ireland, it is a falſehood to his own knowledge. It is a fact too well known to every landholder in this kingdom, that the Iriſh Proteſtant clergy in general do not receive above one-fifth part of what they are by law entitled to, of the value of their tithes; that is, one fiftieth part of the annual value of the produce of the lands, *to the tithe of which they are entitled;* for one third of the tithe of the whole kingdom is in lay hands, and many parts of it are exempt from the payment of any tithes whatſoever; the Proteſtant Diſſenters, as well as the Romaniſts, pay tithes with great reluctance; and the clergyman, haraſſed with ſuits and chicane, is glad to accept of a very inadequate compoſition for his tithes, even in pariſhes where he is beſt paid. No perſonal tithes are paid in any part of Ireland, or demanded; and as for mixt tithes, they are paid very partially. The only ſpecies of them which is paid in any part of Ireland, is tithe of lamb and wool. Tithe of agiſtment, or tithe of milk in dairies, are never demanded or paid, though payable by the common law. No perſon in Ireland is better qualified to inform the public in general, on the ſubject of the collection of tithes, and the conduct of the eſtabliſhed clergy in Ireland in that particular, than I am, from the nature of my profeſſion and the offices I fill;

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fill; and I can with the greateſt truth aver, that the moderation of the eſtabliſhed Clergy in Ireland, in the collection of their tithes, is unparalleled, when compared with the conduct of any other ſet of men in enforcing the ſatisfaction of their legal demands; particularly when the very ſcanty proviſion which the parochial Clergy in general in this kingdom have, is conſidered; the whole benefices in the nation, reputing each union one benefice, amounting only to about eight hundred, and the incumbents of at leaſt one half of them are not paid an income of two hundred pounds per annum; and of the other half, there is a moiety whoſe incomes, actually paid, do not exceed three hundred pounds per annum each; and throughout the kingdom it has become neceſſary for the Biſhops to unite a number of pariſhes, to enſure even a reaſonable ſubſiſtence for a clergyman. The whole eſtabliſhed Clergy of Ireland do not amount to more than one thouſand three hundred; and were the whole revenues of the Church, of every nature, divided equally among them, each man would not receive more than about one hundred and fifty pounds per annum. This the author, in page 31, ſtyles *an immenſe church eſtabliſhment*; and inſolently adds, that no one can ſay it is *neceſſary or uſeful in general to the people of the country*. Such is the grievance people labour under from the ſeverity with which Tithes are collected in Ireland, and the immenſity of the Church Eſtabliſhment, according to this author: it is, like his other pretended grievances, a lying invention of a malignant Iriſh Romaniſt.

His next complaint reſpecting tithes is, that the Romiſh peaſantry, very poor from oppreſſion, are obliged to pay them to the Proteſtant clergy, whoſe ſpiritual aſſiſtance

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assistance they receive not; and are at the same time obliged to contribute to the support of their own clergy for spiritual assistance they do receive from them; that is, the Irish Romish peasantry pay the Protestant Clergy by compulsion, without valuable consideration; the Romish clergy by justice, for valuable consideration. Before I expose the falsity of this complaint, it may not be amiss to shew the injustice of it. In every country in which there is an Established Religion, the people at large are obliged to contribute to the support of the ministers of it; and it is but reasonable that they should do so, if a Church Establishment be necessary and useful in a State; which all people, French philosophers excepted, admit. If any part of the subjects of a State dissent from the establishment (as is the case more or less, in all Christian states), reject the assistance of the ministers of the establishment in spiritual concerns and apply to ministers of their own selection for that purpose, it may be reasonable that they should pay those whom they have so selected; but there is not the smallest just or reasonable ground for complaint, inasmuch as the ministers of the Established Church are ready to afford them spiritual aid, and to perform their appointed duty to them, as well as to the other subjects, if they choose to accept of their ministry. So much for the injustice of the complaint, supposing the matter of it were true. But the whole is founded on falsehood and sophistry; for the peasantry do not pay tithe out of their own property, it is in fact paid by the landlords. The peasant takes a lease of his farm from the proprietor, subject to the payment of tithe; and the landlord abates more than an equivalent for the annual tithe, in the yearly rent reserved payable to himself. Lands in Ireland which are tithe-free are let at an

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annual rent from a crown to half a crown per acre more than lands which are ſubject to tithes; and in no part of the kingdom does the annual tithe, as it is paid, amount to ſo much on an average as the abatement in the annual rent amounts to; ſo that, though the farmer pays the tithe, yet he does not pay it out of his own pocket,—it is really and *bona fide* paid out of the pocket of the landlord; and the farmer in that reſpect is but his ſteward, and pays for him, and on his account. Of the landed eſtates in Ireland, on the moſt critical examination, it appears that forty-nine parts out of fifty are in the hands of Proteſtants; ſo that Proteſtants pay forty-nine parts out of fifty of the tithe payable to the Proteſtant clergy: the Romiſh farmers do not pay a ſixpence of it on their own accounts, and Romiſh landlords not above a fiftieth part. Every perſon acquainted with the true ſtate of the kingdom knows the truth of the above ſtatement. The Iriſh peaſantry, in fact, would be in a worſe condition if tithes were aboliſhed; for they would be obliged to pay an increaſe of their annual rents for their farms in ſuch an event, vaſtly exceeding the ſums which they now pay for the tithe of them; and this is expreſsly admitted by Mr. Emmett, one of the Iriſh Directory, in his examination on oath before the Secret Committee of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords. See the Appendix to their Report, No. 6, p. 32, where Mr. Emmett ſtates thus: '*I am very ſure, if tithes were aboliſhed, the people, on 'taking new leaſes, would be obliged to pay more in proportion for lands than the value they now pay for tithes*;' but he admits the leaders of the rebellion endeavoured to raiſe a popular cry for the abolition of tithes, as they did in favour of *Catholic Emancipation and Reform*, about all which, he admits, the people did not care a feather, till they

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they perſuaded them that certain imaginary advantages were to reſult from them; and that they, that is, the Iriſh Republicans, raiſed the popular cry, for the mere purpoſe of cajoling the maſs of the people into a ſupport of their own anarchical projects.

It may be clearly perceived, that this writer has the ſame purpoſe in view, by all his falſehoods and miſrepreſentations; and that he dwells on old ſubjects of complaint fraudulently aggravated, ariſing from the Popery code, long ſince repealed; on exaggerated accounts of the poverty and miſery of the Iriſh peaſantry, ariſing, as he aſſerts, from oppreſſion, but really from repeated rebellions and diſaffection; on falſe ſtatements reſpecting tithes, ſevere exaction of them, and immenſe revenues in the poſſeſſion of the Iriſh Proteſtant Clergy; and, in ſhort, that he leaves no topic of inflammation, which can work on the paſſions of the Iriſh Romaniſts, either from the deep impreſſions of their bigotry or intereſt, untouched, for the purpoſe of goading them to inſurrection and rebellion, and thereby eſſentially ſerving *his maſters the French Convention.*

This author admits, that the Pope nominates all the Iriſh Roman biſhops, but aſſerts 'that this gives him no 'real or eſſential juriſdiction in the Iriſh ſtate, he and 'the whole Roman Catholic Church not having, nor 'pretending to have, in the Iriſh ſtate the power of the 'meaneſt veſtry.' How far this aſſertion is practically true, let any man judge, who has read the Oath of Allegiance taken by all Romiſh biſhops to the Pope at their conſecration, which I have already ſet forth. It is very true the Romiſh biſhops have no tribunals in Ireland, in which

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which they pronounce decrees, the execution of which they can compel by the laws of the land, as they at preſent ſtand: yet it is equally true, that they have tribunals, vicars general and officials, who do make and pronounce decrees in what they call ſpiritual matters, and in matrimonial cauſes eſpecially, which highly affect the temporal concerns of the ſubjects of this realm; and that they have ways and means of enforcing, and do enforce, the effectual execution of ſuch decrees, of which I have within theſe few years come to the knowledge, in many inſtances: and although ſuch their proceedings are forbidden by the laws of the realm under ſevere penalties, yet they continue the practice, have ſeals of office, and levy no inconſiderable ſums on the ſubject for licenſes, diſpenſations, and other incidents of epiſcopal juriſdiction. If Romaniſts ſhould be admitted to a ſhare of the ſupreme authority of the State, and if any attempt ſhould be made to carry the laws into execution againſt ſuch illegal practices, what loud complaints ſhould we hear of perſecution! and what harangues of Romiſh orators would be pronounced in the Senate on the ſcore of the obſtruction of the juriſdiction of their Biſhops, liegemen of the Pope, in matters very intimately connected with the temporal intereſts of the ſubject! and how inceſſant would their endeavours be to procure the repeal of ſuch wholeſome and reſtrictive ſtatutes!

This author obſerves, 'that the Statute of Magna 'Charta, the foundation of civil liberty, and the Statute 'of Præmunire (2d of Richard the Second), which ſe-'cured eccleſiaſtical liberty, were acts of Roman Catholic 'Parliaments.' It is to be noted, however, that the Statute of Magna Charta eſtabliſhed all the uſurpations of the Romiſh

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Romiſh Church as they then ſtood (See chap. i. xxxiii. xxxviii. of it: 2d Coke's Inſtitutes, page 2. 68. 76.), and only repreſſed and aboliſhed prerogatives claimed by the Crown, which bore hard on an Ariſtocracy, clerical and lay, at that time of mighty power; and that the ſtatute of Richard the Second only went to reſtrain the introduction into the kingdom of the Pope's bulls which touched on *the King's Crown and Regality*, or his realm, and the execution of ſuch: the Popedom at that time claiming, and attempting to exerciſe, an unlimited temporal authority within the realm, and uſurping all the prerogatives of the Crown, which abuſes it had principally introduced in the reign of King John. The ſtatute did not abrogate, or attempt to abrogate, the ſupremacy of the Pope in ſpirituals, and in all temporal matters incident to ſuch ſpiritual ſupremacy: the authority of the Pope in ſpirituals and in temporals inſeparably connected with them, remained unimpaired in the realm, and was executed therein either by his own or the Biſhop's officers, or by the officers of the Sovereign, notwithſtanding that ſtatute, as may be learned from our hiſtories, till the time of Henry the Eighth: Richard's Parliament not deſigning to curtail, what they, being Romaniſts, believed to be the juſt portion of temporal power incident to the Pope's acknowledged ſupremacy in ſpirituals. Till the reign of Henry the Eighth appeals to Rome, though illegal before, had been always connived at. (See 4th vol. Blackſtone's Commentaries, page 114.)

The concluding argument of this author for the admiſſion of Romaniſts into the Senate, and into all places of truſt and confidence within the realm, to wit, *a ſimilar practice in many other States*, he introduces with an affecta-

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tion of great politeneſs: his politeneſs indeed is much of the ſame kind with that of ſome modern men of nice honour, who affect all kind of ceremonious delicacy in their conduct, preparative to a premeditated quarrel, and mean to procure an excuſe for ſhooting a man through the head, or running him through the heart, with the moſt perfect good breeding: he thus addreſſes the gentleman whoſe arguments he has undertaken to anſwer: 'I am almoſt 'afraid of being accuſed of impoliteneſs by adducing no-'torious facts, which may look like groſs and blunt con-'tradictions of the aſſertions of a gentleman, who ought 'to have ſuch good information upon the ſubject he treats.' Before I proceed to the examination of the inſtances of the practice of other States, in reſpect to the indiſcriminate diſtribution of honours, emoluments, and confidential offices in the civil and military departments, on Proteſtants and Romaniſts (inſtances almoſt all confined to Germany), which are adduced by this *ſoi-diſant* well-informed writer, I muſt remark, that the Government of every one of them is deſpotic, and either in the hands of a ſingle perſon, or in thoſe of an oligarchy; and that the people at large have no ſhare in the ſupreme power of the ſtate; that is, their Governments have no democracy intermixed with them: no aſſembly, elected by the people for a certain term, and whoſe members at its expiration become part of the maſs of the people, forms part of the ſovereignties; and no arguments deduced from the practice in ſuch States in the particulars above-mentioned will apply to a Government partly democratic, and the moſt efficient part of which is ſuch a popular aſſembly as above deſcribed. In ſuch States any particular religious tenet held by a part of the people, hoſtile to the principles of Government, can have but a very ſmall miſchievous effect: many civil and

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all military offices may be diſpoſed of by ſuch deſpotic governments to any perſons they may think capable of ſerving them, without regard to their religious perſuaſions, and without inconvenience to the ſyſtem of government; for ſuch officers can have no ſhare or influence in the government, except through the medium of their deſpotic maſters, who can diſmiſs them at their pleaſure. In a Romiſh deſpotic government, the employment of Proteſtants in great and confidential offices can be of no public inconvenience, as well for the before-mentioned reaſon, as becauſe there is no tenet of the Proteſtant religion which teaches the perſecution of all Chriſtians, princes and people, differing from Proteſtants in point of doctrine, as heretics, with fire and ſword; no tenet which teaches them to overturn the government which does not ſhare its ſovereignty with a foreign tribunal. It is much ſafer for a Romiſh State to employ Proteſtants in great offices, than for a Proteſtant State to employ Romaniſts.

The Saxon State œconomy this author produces with a ſort of triumphant exultation, as a deciſive proof of the truth of his deductions; 'he ſtates it to be a Roman Ca-'tholic government in a Proteſtant country, the very re-'verſe of Ireland: to make the contraſt complete, Pro-'teſtant and Catholic enjoy every privilege without diſ-'tinction. *The revenue of the Church, ſmall but adequate,* '*is given to thoſe who do the ſervice of it in either way.* 'The peaſantry are without any exception the happieſt, 'moſt comfortable, and moſt contented in the world; 'the higher ranks remarkable for their martial and ho-'nourable ſpirit, the Sovereign is a father of all his ſub-'jects. But a ſtronger and more extraordinary fact re-

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'mains, to confound the friends and abettors of religious 'jealouſy and animoſity. The Proteſtants of Germany, 'certainly not indifferent to the intereſts of their religion, 'could not find a properer perſon to entruſt them to, than 'to this very Roman Catholic Prince, who is ſelected by 'themſelves to be the chief of the Proteſtant Union, and 'to watch over the treaties made in their favour.

But this well-informed author, notwithſtanding the amazing extent of his knowledge, ſeems to be totally ignorant of the ſpecific differences of the conſtitution of the Britiſh Empire from that of any other country in the world, and the neceſſary political effects of ſuch differences in the internal regulations of a State, one efficient part of whoſe ſovereignty is a popular aſſembly, when contraſted with the internal political regulations of a deſpotic government. The Elector of Saxony is as deſpotic a Prince as any in Europe within his own territories; his ſubjects, in a political ſenſe, are complete ſlaves; there is no ſpice of democracy mingled with his power: in his State the Sovereign may be truly called the father of his people, in the ſame ſenſe that the author of '*Killing no Murder*,' gives that title to Cromwell. 'Your 'Highneſs,' ſays he, '*is the true father of your people, for we 'have nothing during your life that we can call our own.*' If the ſubjects of this Elector, the higheſt ranks, as well as the peaſantry, are the happieſt and moſt contented in Europe, as this author ſtates, it muſt follow that abject political ſlavery is productive of the greateſt happineſs to the ſubject; a doctrine which will not be reliſhed by the ſubjects of the Britiſh Empire: God preſerve us from ſuch happineſs! I remember an inſtance of the Elector of Saxony's mild government of his ſubjects, which was publiſhed

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publiſhed throughout Europe above thirty years ago. He received information that a Saxon peaſant had killed a deer; he cauſed him to be ſeized, ſtripped naked, pinioned, and ſtrongly tied on the back of a ſtag, which was immediately turned looſe into the foreſts; the wild animal, affrighted, and rather uneaſy under ſo arbitrary an impoſition, ran furiouſly through the woods, till the unhappy rider was torn to pieces by the projecting branches of trees, and the thorny brambles of the wild.

At the firſt dawning of the Reformation in Germany, the then Elector of Saxony, one of the moſt potent princes of the Germanic Union, became the profeſſed patron of Luther; he protected him from the fury of the Romaniſts, and himſelf as well as his ſubjects became Proteſtants, as did many other German potentates with their people. The Emperor, at the inſtigation of the Pope, and other Romiſh eccleſiaſtics, commenced a furious war againſt theſe Proteſtants; it raged with great violence for many years, and incalculable miſchief was done to both parties; the Elector of Saxony, as the moſt conſiderable Proteſtant prince, being at the head of the Proteſtants: till at length both ſides, wearied and waſted by the calamities of war, entered into treaties of peace; the Elector of Saxony, then a Proteſtant, being ſelected by his Proteſtant co-eſtates as chief of the Union. (See Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles the Fifth, vol. ii. book ii. page 100.; boo k v. page 352. 355.; vol. iii. book x. p. 201. octavo edition.) About the beginning of the preſent century, the then Elector of Saxony apoſtatized from the religion of his anceſtors, and became a Romaniſt, his ſubjects being Proteſtants; and his ſucceſſors have continued Romaniſts to this day. The anceſtor of the Elector of Saxony, being a Proteſtant, was by the before-mentioned treaties acknowledged chief of the

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the Proteſtant Germanic Union; but all Germany knows that the preſent Elector, being a Romaniſt, is not conſidered or acknowledged as ſuch, though the treaties exiſt; and that he could not be conſidered as ſuch, even if he were a Proteſtant, becauſe he is infinitely inferior in power to the King of Pruſſia, Elector of Brandenburg, who is now in fact the head of the Proteſtant Germanic Union, and is ſo conſidered.

The Elector of Saxony being a deſpotic, in reſpect to his conſtitutional authority over his own ſubjects, is yet a dependant prince in reſpect to the Emperor and his coeſtates, being but a member of the German Empire; hence he cannot attempt to innovate in the eſtabliſhed religion of his country, and ſubſtitute the Romiſh faith in the room of the Proteſtant, becauſe the Proteſtant States of the Empire would certainly interfere to prevent him, and would be obliged by the above-mentioned treaties to do ſo: his ſubjects, ſecured in the enjoyment of their religious eſtabliſhment by the conſtitution of the German Empire, and their religion teaching them no doctrines hoſtile to their Romiſh Sovereign, acquieſce under the government of a Romaniſt: and as to the enjoyment of every privilege indiſcriminately by Proteſtant and Romaniſt, very little miſchief is to be apprehended on that account in a State, where the Sovereign is deſpotic, and the people entitled to no privilege, ſave what the Sovereign pleaſes to beſtow: benefits ſpringing entirely from his favour cannot with propriety be called privileges.

The above reaſoning applies to every inſtance quoted by this author of the indiſcriminate advancement of Romaniſts and Proteſtants under the German governments; but he is not able to quote one inſtance of ſuch indiſcriminate

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criminate advancement in any popular government in Chriſtendom: the Swiſs States were almoſt all oligarchical, and very deſpotic: and in the Dutch State, which had a great mixture of democracy in it, and which held out univerſal toleration and protection to the profeſſors of all ſects, no perſon of a different religious perſuaſion from that of their eſtabliſhment, before the French ſubverted their conſtitution, was ſuffered to ſit as a member of their States General.

This author, with no ſmall degree of ſophiſtry and aſſurance coupled together, obſerves, that the Saxon government is the direct reverſe of that of Ireland, for there the government (that is, the Elector) is Roman Catholic, and the country Proteſtant; thus indirectly aſſerting, that the religion of the People of Ireland in general is Romiſh, though the government be Proteſtant. The truth is, the religion of the people of Ireland, if determined by the religion of the majority reckoned by the poll, would be Romiſh by a majority of two to one: if reckoned by property, would be Proteſtant by a majority of forty to one; ſo that it may be juſtly aſſerted from fair calculation, excluſive of its being the one eſtabliſhed, that the religion of the people of Ireland is Proteſtant. The author does not forget to inſinuate in his account of Saxony, that Romiſh Iriſh prieſts ſhould enjoy part at leaſt of the revenue of the Church in Ireland, by obſerving, that in Saxony the *ſmall* but *adequate* revenue of the Church is given to thoſe who do the ſervice of it in either way: which obſervation, however, is falſe with reſpect to that electorate in general. And this author's *extraordinary fact confounding all his oppoſers* turns out to be a fabrication of his own, the materials of which are fraud and ignorance.

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This author attempts to furniſh an argument in favour of his poſitions, from the liberality of the French monarchical government to their Proteſtant ſubjects: he aſſerts, 'that the Proteſtants in thoſe parts of France 'where they were in any proportion to the Catholics, 'were exactly in the ſame ſituation as they. Such was 'the caſe of Alſatia ceded to France by the treaty of 'Munſter; the rights of Proteſtants in that province were 'reſpected.' Alſace was no part of the realm of Erance, it was a part of Germany acquired by the arms and treachery of the French monarch: the inhabitants were Proteſtants. A treaty of peace being concluded between France and Germany, and this province ceded to France, the free exerciſe of the religion of the inhabitants was ſtipulated for, and made one of the conditions of the treaty; as the province bordered on the territories of the enemies of France, and might revolt, the French Government thought it prudent to reconcile the inhabitants to their new maſters, by an adherence to the treaty ſo far as to indulge them in the free exerciſe of their religion: it was uſeful to the French to do ſo; and could not be detrimental, inaſmuch as the people of the province have no ſhare in the government, which is deſpotic: a ſort of political neceſſity inſured the obſervation of the treaty, otherwiſe it may be fairly preſumed, that this moſt faithleſs of all nations would not have heſitated at violating the conditions. The conduct of that nation in violating the Edict of Nants, and perſecuting the Proteſtants throughout all their ancient limits, in the true ſpirit of Popery, with fire, ſword, and the gallies, particularly in Languedoc, where they continued to hunt them like wild beaſts, till the diſſolution of the monarchy, fully juſtifies ſuch a preſumption.

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The author then states, 'that Mr. Neckar, who was 'Prime Minister, Marechal Saxe many years Com-'mander in Chief of the armies in France, Marechals 'Lovendal, Luckner, Wurmser, and innumerable other 'Protestants, were high in civil and military rank in 'France.' I have already shown, that, as to the security of government and the religion established, it is but of little moment what the religious persuasion of military officers is in despotic monarchies, as was that of France; and that the religion even of civil officers in such governments is not a matter of much public concern: yet I deny that there were innumerable instances in France before the Revolution, of Protestants being high in civil or military rank: the instances of that kind were very few, and the author has enumerated the most of them. But what infatuation induced him to resort to the instance of Mr. Neckar a Protestant, being Prime Minister of France? He was indeed Prime Minister of that devoted country, and was by reputation a Calvinist, but in truth an Atheist; and the fruits of his ministry in France were, the overthrow of its ancient government, the subversion of its established religon and of all Christianity, and the desolation of the kingdom. And this author holds up the fatal promotion in France of this monster of perfidy and treason, an enemy to the established religion and constitution of that country, as an argument to induce Irish Protestants to betray the sovereignty of the State into the hands of Irish Romanists, the inveterate enemies of its established Religion and Constitution.

This author, in page 39, makes the following observation: 'One cannot help pitying a government, which 'is [illegible] constant terror of the prosperity of its 'own

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'own ſubjects. Their number, their riches, their ſpirit, 'their civil and military talents, are ſo many objects of 'fear.' This is his picture of the government of Ireland! The Iriſh Government has uſed every endeavour which ſound policy can dictate, to increaſe the proſperity of all its ſubjects: their number, their riches, their ſpirit, their civil and military talents, are the objects of its applauſes, of its proud and honorable exultation: but a certain claſs of Iriſh ſubjects are, from religious bigotry, incurable enemies to the conſtitution of their country in Church and State; ſound policy directs, that ſuch ſhould be excluded from the ſovereign power of the State, which they muſt wield, if inveſted with it, for the ſubverſion of the conſttiution; and prevented from uſing either their number, their riches, their ſpirit, or their talents, for the ruin of their fellow-ſubjects and of the conſtitution. The Iriſh Proteſtants fear not Iriſh Romaniſts, either from their boaſted numbers or puiſſance; they know their own ſtrength, and rely on their own courage, of both which they have given Romiſh Rebels recent proofs; their conduct in ſuch excluſion is not the effect of fear, but of wiſdom and prudence: it is not cowardice in the garriſon of an impregnable fortreſs, the ſafety and protection of a realm, to refuſe entrance into it to their irreconcilable enemies, whoſe numbers or courage, when on the outſide, can be no objects of terror. How can it be ſaid with juſtice or reaſon, that Iriſh Proteſtants put any impediments in the road of Iriſh Romaniſts to wealth and proſperity, or in their paths to military renown? Is not the army now open to them? Are not trade, and all the avenues of honeſt induſtry, as open to them, as to their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects? Are not their lives and properties equally protected by the laws? How falſe then, how malicious,

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how infolent, and how petulant, is the above invective of this Romiſh writer againſt the Iriſh Government!

I will now point the reader's attention to thoſe parts of the author's pamphlet, in which he throws out the moſt audacious threats of rebellion and reſiſtance againſt the lawful authority of the State. Theſe he introduces under the guiſe of advice, or ſuggeſts them as the natural conſequences of what he ſtyles the oppreſſion of the Romaniſts in Ireland by their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects and the State. In pages 6, 7, and 8, he obſerves, 'that it 'is dangerous, in the preſent ſtate of men's minds all 'over the world, to exclude formally three millions out 'of four, in a detached country, from the juſt and rea-ſonable rights which they ſee their fellow-ſubjects enjoy; and that the idea of preſerving ſuch an eſtabliſh-'ment by force is abſurd and impracticable.' And then, after obſerving on the ſucceſs of the Netherlands in throwing off the Spaniſh yoke, and their right to do ſo, *he inſinuates that in Ireland, Separation from Great Britain, and independency, ſhould be maintained at all hazards*; and concludes with the maxim of one of the French demagogues, *that inſurrection is the moſt ſacred of our duties*; pretending to deduce the juſtice of theſe treaſonable aphoriſms from a paſſage in the pamphlet of his antagoniſt.

Further to ſtimulate the Iriſh Romaniſts to rebellion, and to ſharpen their natural rancour againſt the Britiſh ſoldiery, he accuſes the Engliſh Militia, who gallantly volunteered for the aſſiſtance of their brethren the Proteſtants of Ireland, of gratifying their luſt by brutal violations of the Iriſh females, in the following paſſage:

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'From accounts which the papers give of the gallantry of 'the Britiſh Militia with the fair, as well as in the field, 'one would imagine they had read Mr. C.'s pamphlet, and 'were imitating the Romans in ſettling the preliminaries of 'Union with the Sabines.' The good conduct and ſtrict diſcipline of the Britiſh Militia, which lately came into Ireland, have been praiſed by the two Houſes of Parliament, and by every loyal man in the kingdom; and for this moſt groundleſs calumny the ſlanderous author had no other authority than his own malice. He then proceeds with the utmoſt virulence, to abuſe the policy of Great Britain in reſpect to foreign nations, aſſerting that ſhe has thereby ruined herſelf, and is now a bankrupt, with which it would be highly imprudent for Ireland to have any connexion. He lays to the charge of her Miniſtry all the calamities which, as he ſtates, have afflicted Ireland for a ſeries of ages; and aſſerts that the dawn of improvement in the ſtate of Ireland commenced with her aſſerting ſome degree of independence on England in the year 1780. (See pages 9, 10.) Then, after ſtyling the Proteſtant Religion a Meduſa's head, which paralyſes a large portion of our people, *or turns their arms againſt each other* (thereby admitting, what he in other places denies, that the laſt Rebellion, as well as preceding ones, was a Romiſh rebellion), he recites the triumphs of the Republic of France, and magnifies her power: he ſtates, *that a war between Great Britain and Ireland is not probable, if the people are ſatisfied; but it is to be feared, if the cauſes of diſcontent are not removed.* By the people, this author, throughout his pamphlet, means Romaniſts excluſively; and the principal cauſes of complaint which he enumerates, are the excluſion of the members of the Romiſh ſect from Parliament, and from the great offices of

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of the State; that is, from a ſhare in the ſovereignty of the State; thus declaring in the moſt explicit terms, *that the Iriſh Romaniſts will commence hoſtilities againſt Great Britain and the Proteſtants of Ireland, in confederacy with France, if they do not obtain a ſhare in the ſovereignty.* (See page 17.) He further proceeds thus: 'It is dangerous, it is almoſt treaſon againſt the cauſe of all 'regular ſociety, *attacked as it is by powerful enemies*, to 'trifle in this manner with the feelings of three millions 'of people, by excluding them from thoſe rights for 'which they are called upon to riſk their lives.' (See page 23.) Then, after acknowledging that the late Iriſh Rebels, forming the Directory, were in treaty with France for their aſſiſtance to ſeparate Ireland from Great Britain, and praiſing this Directory for their principles of patriotiſm manifeſted in the conduct of the treaty, he proceeds to encourage rebellion, by inſinuating the probability of ſucceſs, from the ſituation of Ireland, and the certainty of French ſupport. 'Of late,' he obſerves, 'the theory of inſurrection has 'almoſt forced itſelf upon every ſpeculative mind. A 'province diſtant from the ſeat of empire is much more 'liable to the intrigues of an enemy than one that has it 'in its centre.' (See page 24.) He proceeds in pretty much the ſame ſtrain in page 30, in which he inſerts a quotation from Mariana, importing, that all poor perſons in a State will be enemies to it, if all hopes of emerging are taken away from them; which may be very true, but gives no ſupport to the author's arguments. Mariana does not mean that all beggars in a State will rebel, if the hope of emerging into the ſovereignty of the State is taken away from them; he means the hope of emerging into opulence: ſuch is the preciſe meaning of the paſſage.

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ſage. But the means of emerging from poverty into opulence are, by our Conſtitution, as open to poor Romaniſts as to poor Proteſtants. The author ſeems to have inſerted the quotation for the mere purpoſe of ſhowing his learning: it cannot be diſtorted to ſignify that beggars will be diſaffected to the State, unleſs they have grounds to hope that they may be kings.

This author, then, for the mere purpoſe of inflammation, falls on the Iriſh Popery Code, which has been ſome time ſince, perhaps injudiciouſly, certainly too haſtily, repealed. He thus deſcribes it and its effects: 'Laws which for a century cramped the induſtry of a 'people, debarred them from education, armed the 'brother againſt the brother, and rewarded the ſon for 'betraying the father, excluded the Roman Catholics 'from Proteſtant ſchools, prevented them from having 'ſchools of their own, and proſcribed foreign education.' (See pages 4. 10.) 'Theſe laws left a people poor, ig-'norant, with little reſpect for law, and ferocious from 'a ſenſe of injury. They rendered property inſecure, 'prevented the cultivation of land, the interior con-'fidence of families, the extenſion of trade, or the em-'ployment of the talents or genius of three fourths of 'the people in civil or military affairs.' (See page 34.) At preſent I ſhall only obſerve, that England had her Popery Code as well as Ireland, very ſimilar to, and almoſt the ſame with the Iriſh; and that this Code, though the Iriſh one be repealed, is ſtill in force, as to many parts of it, in England. I ſhall hereafter make further obſervations on this author's ſtrictures on the Iriſh Popery Code; but ſhall firſt ſhow that the ſtrength and puiſſance of the Iriſh Romaniſts are not ſo great or formidable,

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formidable, nor their threatened rebellion, even though ſupported by France, ſo dangerous to the Iriſh Government, or to the Britiſh Empire in general, as this author repreſents them. In the ſecond place, I ſhall prove that the late Iriſh Rebellion was a Romiſh Rebellion: in doing which I ſhall be obliged to delineate ſome of the cruelties exerciſed by the Rebels on their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects. In the third place, I ſhall ſhow that all the rebellions of Iriſh Romaniſts are excited, encouraged, and even commanded, by the poſitive tenets of their religion: from whence it will directly follow as a corollary, that the maſs of Iriſh Romaniſts, as long as they continue of that perſuaſion, muſt be juſtly conſidered by the State as ſubjects whoſe fidelity cannot be relied upon; and that ſuch checks ſhould be held over them as may prevent their diſturbing the State, even after an Incorporating Union ſhall take place.

As to the firſt, I have already proved, that Iriſh Romaniſts do not exceed Iriſh Proteſtants in number, in a greater proportion than that of two to one; and this proof I have founded on every rational ground of inquiry or inveſtigation, which have in that particular been ever adopted. (See Appendix, No. 1.) I have already ſhown, as to the maſs of property in Ireland, real and perſonal, that the part of it in the hands of Proteſtants is to that in the hands of Romaniſts in the proportion of forty to one. (See Appendix, No. 1.) Now as the ſtrength of a nation, for defence and offence, is in a ratio compoſed of its numbers and its wealth, ſo likewiſe is the relative ſtrength of two contending parties within it: hence it is demonſtrable, that the Proteſtants of Ireland alone are fully able to repreſs the threatened rebellion of the Iriſh Romaniſts; and

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and this was fully and practically proved in the late Romiſh Rebellion, which was ſuppreſſed by the Army, Militia, and Proteſtant Yeomanry of Ireland.

It is well known in Ireland, that this Rebellion might have been prevented and nipped in the bud, if vigorous meaſures had been timely adopted by the Iriſh Government. The then Lord Lieutenant (Earl Camden) was a man of great honour and integrity, and a determined friend to the Conſtitution in Church and State. The principal men in power in the kingdom were of ſimilar character. The information reſpecting the ſchemes and deſigns of the conſpirators was complete, and called for the moſt ſpeedy and ſtrenuous exertions of the State to defeat them. The Iriſh Parliament conferred the moſt ample authority on the Executive Government; yet the delay of exertion was remarkable and notorious. Moſt thinking people attributed the backwardneſs of Government in ſeizing and puniſhing the then Catholics, and their aſſociates, to a Britiſh influence in our councils. It is ſuppoſed that the powers of the Chief Governor were ſhackled by orders from England. The ſtate of affairs in Ireland had been groſsly miſrepreſented to men in power in England, and theſe miſrepreſentations had taken deep root. The late Mr. *Edmund Burke*, an Iriſh gentleman reſident in England, had projected the total ſubverſion of the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment in Ireland ſo early as the year 1761; and having ingratiated himſelf with the Secretary of the Marquis of Halifax, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he returned to his native country in his ſuite. He then began his operations for carrying his project into execution. He found, however, the current of opinion in Ireland againſt his innovations

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innovations too ſtrong for his ſtemming it. England was at that time triumphant over France, and no aſſiſtance was to be expected from that quarter; and his own credit in England was not then near ſo great as it afterwards was. He was obliged to ſuſpend his operations at that time, and retire unſucceſsful to England. As ſoon, however, as the American war blazed forth, he recommenced them with all the vigour in his power. He publiſhed a Letter, addreſſed to a Romiſh Iriſh Nobleman, which is exactly of the ſame nature with the pamphlet I am now remarking on: indeed all the arguments in this pamphlet are taken from the Letter. Mr. Burke therein paints in the moſt glowing colours, the hardſhips which Romaniſts endured in Ireland from the effect of the Popery Laws; he boldly aſſerts their undoubted right to every privilege enjoyed by Iriſh Proteſtants; he exaggerates their number and ſtrength, and threatens the Britiſh Empire with the exertion of them againſt its then-tottering power, as he deſcribes it: in ſhort, he dwells on every topic of inflammation of Iriſh Romaniſts, on every encouragement, on every provocation to revolt againſt Britain in her then-diſtreſſed ſituation; mixing, throughout the whole, the groſſeſt miſrepreſentations of the ſtate of Ireland. This Letter he followed with a ſucceſſion of publications, all in the ſame ſtrain, under the titles of Letters, Speeches, and Eſſays, in the daily Newſpapers, Reviews, Magazines, Annual Regiſters, &c. and continued them to the day of his death. His parents were Iriſh Romaniſts; he was endowed with very ſhowy talents; his ſtyle was elegant; he was well read in all parts of polite literature; he was laborious and indefatigable: but his vanity, the attendant on a weak judgment, was unbounded; and his zeal for

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promoting all the political views of Popery was enthuſiaſtic. This zeal will account for the extraordinary anomalies in his political conduct. He had recommended himſelf to the late Marquis of Rockingham, and by his intereſt he obtained a ſeat in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons. During the American and French war, no man in England was a ſtronger advocate for the Americans. In his ſpeeches in Parliament he ſupported all their pretenſions, he juſtified all their proceedings, and often pointed out the meaſures, in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, for diſtreſſing Britain, which the Americans afterwards purſued; in ſhort, on all occaſions he appeared a determined republican, and at the ſame time uſed the moſt ſtrenuous efforts to urge the Iriſh Romaniſts to revolt, for the purpoſe of increaſing the embarraſſments of the Britiſh Government. (See the Annual Regiſter, and Hiſtory of the late War, chiefly written by Mr. Burke.) At the time it pleaſed the Almighty to viſit His Majeſty with a grievous malady, which ſuſpended his exerciſe of the kingly functions, when his recovery was doubtful, and the mind of every honeſt and loyal man in the nation ſinking under diſmal apprehenſions of impending evils, and his heart burſting with grief for the danger of his beloved Sovereign, Mr. Burke exultingly declared in the Houſe of Commons, *that God had hurled His Majeſty from his throne.* Impious triumph of republican malignity! At no very long interval after this tranſaction, the French Revolution blazed forth like a volcano, conſumed the Monarchy, Religion, Laws, and Conſtitution of that country; eſtabliſhed a Republic, and proclaimed war and hoſtility againſt all Kings. In the progreſs of their career, the French leaders reduced to practice the whole theory of all Mr. Burke's republican leſſons,

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leſſons, which he had read with ſo much ſucceſs to the Americans, from whom the French derived all their political inſtruction. Mr. Burke ſuddenly renounced all his former principles, and employed his polluted pen, yet ſtained with democratic ink, in reprobating, with the utmoſt energy, all the proceedings of the French Democrats, though their enormities were committed in conformity to the principles laid down in his former political lectures. It muſt be admitted that he ſung his palinodia with great ſucceſs and applauſe. He expoſed, with much juſtice, force, and perſpicuity, the treaſon, wickedneſs, and cruelty, of the French Anarchiſts; developed their arts and deceptions with great acuteneſs, and raiſed the abhorrence of the Britiſh nation, as well againſt them, as againſt a faction of atheiſtical republicans at home, who attempted to ſpread the contagion of the deſolating Gallic doctrines through the Britiſh dominions. But to what cauſe can this ſudden change in Mr. Burke's political conduct be attributed? I can gueſs at no other than his enthuſiaſtic zeal for the advancement of the political purſuits and intereſts of the Romiſh Church, of which he has ſhown himſelf, for a ſeries of years, the profeſſed advocate. The French atheiſtical uſurpers proſcribed Chriſtianity and all its profeſſors: they conſequently proſcribed Popery, the heretofore-eſtabliſhed religion of France, with all its intereſts, and confiſcated the whole Church Revenues. This excited Mr. Burke's rage and reſentment againſt them; and hence his reprobation of their republicaniſm. In one of his publications he complains, in the bitterneſs of his heart, that they have pulled down the *Majeſty* of Religion; and Popery certainly does affect great external pomp and grandeur. However, if any perſon ſhall ſuggeſt a more

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probable cauſe of the ſudden alteration in the political conduct of Mr. Burke, I ſhall readily relinquiſh my hypotheſis. This gentleman, very unfortunately for the repoſe of Ireland, and conſequently of Great Britain, has influenced ſome men of great rank and power in England to concur with him in the project of communicating with the Iriſh Romaniſts the ſupreme power of the State, by admitting them into Parliament; and has had the addreſs, at the ſame time, to perſuade them, by groſs miſtatement, that the Romaniſts are powerful enough in Ireland to compel an acquieſcence in ſuch their ambitious views, and that it is therefore good policy to give that which cannot be withheld. He has alſo, by the ſame means, perſuaded them, in defiance of truth, that the Iriſh Romaniſts are grievouſly oppreſſed by their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects; that they are Monarchiſts; the Iriſh Proteſtants, Republicans. He has worked on their generoſity, by preaching up the doctrines of Liberality, Conciliation, Emancipation, and Reform; concealing under ſuch ſpecious names and titles, Romiſh Perſecution, Rancour, Subverſion and Proſcription of the Proteſtant Religion; Democracy, and Separation, the certain conſequence of the ſucceſs of his projects.

Evident marks of the progreſs of Mr. Burke's doctrines in favour of the Iriſh Romaniſts may be diſcovered in moſt of the Speeches of great and powerful Noblemen and Commoners in England on the ſubject of Union, copies of which have been publiſhed, and will be hereafter noticed. *This ſect of Britiſh Politicians may be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Burkiſts*; and from the power and influence of this ſect, fatally miſinformed and miſled with reſpect to the affairs and ſtate of Ireland, the

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the procraſtination and delay of vigorous meaſures for prevention of the Rebellion are generally attributed; and to the ſame ſource may be traced many of the meaſures lately purſued, and, I am ſorry to ſay, ſtill purſuing, in Ireland, which give the higheſt diſguſt to the whole body of Iriſh Proteſtants, and which, inſtead of promoting an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland, are in fact throwing obſtacles in the way of it; all which, however, I have the ſtrongeſt hopes that the good ſenſe of the nation will ſurmount.

I have ſtated that the late Iriſh Rebellion was ſuppreſſed by the Proteſtants of Ireland. To prove that fact, it is only neceſſary to recur to dates. The Rebellion broke out on the 23d of May 1798. The whole Regular Army, the Militia, and the Yeomanry, then in the kingdom, were the proper forces of Ireland, and paid by Ireland. Moſt of the regular troops had, at different periods before, been ſent out of the kingdom on foreign ſervice, and their places ſupplied by Fencible Regiments, many of them Scotch; but as theſe troops were paid by the Iriſh Treaſury, and were ſent in lieu of the Iriſh trained troops employed on foreign expeditions, I do not account them Britiſh troops ſent to our aſſiſtance in preventing or ſuppreſſing the Rebellion. On the 23d of May 1798, the day the Rebellion broke out, the towns of Naas, Carlow, Baltinglaſs, Monaſtereven, and Clane, were attacked, and the Rebels beaten at them all, principally by the Iriſh Militia and Yeomen. On the 29th of the ſame month, General Sir James Duff defeated a large body of Rebels at Kildare, and opened the paſſage from Dublin to Munſter, which had been obſtructed by them. On the ſame day the

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the town of Enniſcorthy, in the county of Wexford, was attacked by a great body of Rebels, commanded by one Murphy, the Romiſh Prieſt of a neighbouring pariſh. It was defended by the Proteſtant Yeomanry alone. It was an open place, without fortification, and the Yeomen fought with them at the outſkirts of the town. The conteſt was long and bloody. The Yeomanry amounted to about three hundred only; the Rebels to more than twice as many thouſands. Forty-ſeven of the Yeomanry were killed, and above five hundred of the Rebels. When the Romiſh inhabitants of the town found their rebel friends recoiling, they ſet fire to the houſes, moſtly thatched, in the rear of the Yeomanry, and obliged them, from ſmoke and heat, to file off from the town, which the Rebels then entered; and this gallant body of men retreated unmoleſted to Wexford, about eleven miles. The Rebels had, on the preceding day, defeated a party of about one hundred of the North Cork Regiment of Militia, put them every man to death, except three who eſcaped, and got poſſeſſion of their muſkets and ammunition, with which they greatly galled the Enniſcorthy Yeomanry. On this ſucceſs, the Peaſantry of the country, being for the moſt part Romaniſts, joined the Rebels, and they marched on to Wexford, being a ſea-port, and the county town. There were but few troops in the place. Some Gentlemen in the neighbourhood raiſed Yeomanry Corps; but having imprudently enrolled Romaniſts among them, they to a man deſerted to the Rebels, with their arms and ammunition; and there were multitudes of Romiſh inhabitants in the town, who ſhowed evident ſigns of diſaffection. Theſe circumſtances induced the Commander of the troops to take the reſolution of abandoning

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ing it, and marching to Duncannon Fort, a ſtrong place about thirty miles diſtant, whither he immediately marched, with all the Proteſtant Yeomanry of both the towns of Wexford and Enniſcorthy; and the Rebels took poſſeſſion of this ſea-port town on the 30th of May, 1798.

On this ſucceſs of the Rebels, the whole Romaniſts of the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, Kildare, and Carlow, joined them. They defeated a detachment of the army, which had marched from Dublin to the relief of the Wexford Proteſtants, under Colonel Walpole, a brave man, but an unſkilful commander, who ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed by this banditti. He paid the forfeit of his life to his raſhneſs: his party retired into the county of Wicklow, and took poſt at Arklow. The Rebels, elated with this ſucceſs, muſtered their forces, and marched to attack the town of Roſs, which, with Duncannon Fort and the town of Newtown-Barry, were the only places in the county of Wexford occupied by the Loyaliſts. The Regiment of Militia of the county of Dublin, commanded by Lord Mountjoy, with ſome other troops and Yeomanry Corps, had taken poſt in Roſs, all under the command of Generals Johnſon and Euſtace, both Iriſh officers. Their whole force amounted to about fifteen hundred. The town is not fortified: there are ſome remains of an old wall, which formerly ſurrounded it, but it is now in ruins. The Rebels commenced the aſſault with a body of twenty-five thouſand men. The troops received them outſide the town. The Rebels, to diſorder the troops, drove before them, with their pikes, a vaſt number of horſes and oxen. They had ſome field-pieces and howitzers, which they had taken

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at the rout of a ſmall detachment of the garriſon of Duncannon Fort, ſent out againſt them very imprudently by the Governor: and alſo when they defeated the troops under Colonel Walpole: their leaders had alſo diſtributed among them a conſiderable quantity of whiſkey, to render them the more deſperate by intoxication. They attacked the troops with great fury; and Lord Mountjoy was killed, gallantly fighting at the head of his regiment. This Nobleman was the firſt perſon who introduced a bill into the Iriſh Parliament for the repeal of a part of the Popery Code, and unfortunately felt the bitter effects and inefficiency of his own ſyſtem of conciliation. The weight of the Rebel column, after a furious conteſt, forced the troops into the town, and the battle was continued fiercely in the ſtreets; till at length the courage and diſcipline of the Loyaliſts prevailed, and the Rebels were compelled, after a dreadful carnage, to retreat. Their ſlain in the ſtreets of the town and ſuburbs amounted to two thouſand two hundred, excluſive of numbers who crawled away from the battle, and died afterwards of their wounds. The Military were ſo fatigued, that they were not able to purſue them. The battle, from the commencement of the aſſault to the final retreat of the Rebels, laſted eight hours. This was the firſt great and deciſive advantage gained over the Rebels. The battle was fought on the 5th of June, 1798, and was gained principally by the undaunted bravery of the Iriſh Militia and Yeomanry, conducted by two Iriſh officers.

The Rebel Army not being diſperſed at Roſs, their leaders determined to try their fortune again; and in a few days after their unſucceſsful attack on Roſs, they marched

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marched to the other side of the county of Wexford, and assaulted the town of Arklow, lying on the great road from Wexford to Dublin, about thirty-three miles from that city. They commenced their assault on this town, which is also unfortified, with a body of eighteen thousand men. The troops quartered there under General Needham did not exceed twelve hundred; notwithstanding which the Rebels were repulsed with great slaughter, chiefly by the courage of the regiments of Cavan Militia, commanded by Colonel Barry, and Durham Fencibles, commanded by Colonel Skerret, together with a considerable body of Yeomanry.

On the 7th of June 1798, a body of Rebels suddenly assembled in the county of Antrim in the northern part of the kingdom, rushed furiously into the town of Antrim, where many of the gentlemen of the county, and several justices of the peace, were assembled, and among the rest Lord O'Neil: a skirmish ensued between the Rebels and the Yeomen of the town, who, though surprised, immediately ran to their arms, and collected themselves into a body. Lord O'Neil received a mortal wound. It was remarked, as in the case of Lord Mountjoy, that this Peer, a very amiable man, when he sat in the House of Commons, was one of the most zealous supporters of the repeal of the Popery Code, and such were the fruits of his exertions in that cause! About the same time the Rebels rose in a part of the county of Down, but were immediately attacked, defeated, and dispersed, by General Nugent, who commanded the troops at Belfast. This insurrection broke out on the estate of the Earl of Moira, most of whose tenants were actively engaged in it; which tends to show how miserably his Lordship was deceived; who not

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not long before had viſited his eſtate in Down, and reſided in his manſion-houſe at Ballinahinch for ſome time; and on his return to England praiſed the exemplary loyalty of the inhabitants of the county of Down in the Houſe of Peers, and particularly of his own tenants; yet this very town was then a magazine of arms for the Rebels, and his tenants were deeply engaged in the conſpiracy for a Rebellion. Such were the diſſimilation and ſecrecy of theſe traitors, that they could impoſe on this loyal Peer, in his own manſion-houſe, on his own eſtate! Theſe were the only inſurrections in the north of Ireland; they were quelled in a few days.

The Rebels in the county of Wexford, where the chief force of the Leinſter inſurgents was concentred, after their defeats at Roſs and Arklow already mentioned, drew their main body together, conſiſting of about eighteen thouſand men, to Enniſcorthy; and encamped on a high and ſteep hill, called Vinegar Hill, adjacent to that town, which it overlooks and commands; the Slaney, a very conſiderable river, running at the baſe of the hill in a winding channel, and waſhing one half of its circumference. This was a very ſtrong poſt, and if well defended might have bid defiance to a conſiderable army. Defeated as the Rebels had been, they ſeemed to have given up the idea of offenſive operations, till their French ſuccours ſhould arrive, which they impatiently expected; and relying on the ſtrength of their poſition, determined to await there the attack of the Royal army, which they knew was aſſembling on all ſides: they had at the ſame time a numerous garriſon in the town of Wexford, a ſea-port; and were in poſſeſſion of the whole ſea coaſt of that county from Arklow to the mouth of Waterford harbour; all

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all which their position effectually covered; and the run from thence to the coast of France, particularly to Brest, was short; they had some good cannon and howitzers, and were in no want of ammunition. The Royal army, a great part of which was Militia and Yeomen, attacked them on the 20th of June 1798, drove them from their position after a feeble resistance; and the whole body would have been killed or taken prisoners, had not one column of the army, by some mistake of orders, marched in a direction different from that in which it ought to have been conducted, and did not arrive at its appointed station in proper time; so that a gap was left by which almost the whole rebel army escaped, but in the greatest disorder; part of them flying towards the mountains of Wicklow, and part to the chain of mountains separating the counties of Carlow and Wexford.

The Rebels in the town of Wexford, hearing of the defeat, abandoned the town, and fled with that party which shaped its course to the Wicklow mountains. The rebel party which retreated towards the mountains of Carlow, got from thence into the Kilkenny mountains, and there assaulted the little town of Castlecomer; the garrison of Kilkenny, which had marched from thence to oppose them, commanded by Sir Charles Asgill, declining to attack this routed banditti, headed by a Romish priest, of the name of Murphy, a drunken ruffian: but a considerable body of Yeomanry from the adjacent Queen's County, with the gallant Colonel Pole at their head, advanced against them, compelled them to retreat, and pursued them with activity; their brave leader sent advice of his success to Sir Charles Asgill, who again marched out of Kilkenny, joined the Yeomanry, and both fell on this

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this party of fugitive Rebels, in number about five thousand, routed them with a very great ſlaughter, and completely diſperſed them: Murphy, their leader, fled drunk from the field of battle, and was ſhortly after taken at Tullow in the county of Carlow, and hanged. All theſe tranſactions happened within a few days after the rout of the Rebels at Vinegar Hill on the 20th of June 1798; and from that time it may be juſtly ſaid, that the Rebellion was extinguiſhed: for though the party which fled to the mountains of Wicklow was compelled by hunger to deſcend into the plain country, and to make an inroad into the county of Meath, yet it was divided into ſmall detached bodies, which were hunted from place to place by the Yeomanry, and ſpeedily deſtroyed; very few of them eſcaping back to the mountains. In fact, the battle of Vinegar Hill put an end to the laſt Iriſh Rebellion.

The dates of each memorable action in this ſhort, but bloody and waſteful Rebellion, are noted, to prove, that the ſuppreſſion of it was effected ſolely by the Troops, Militia, and Yeomen of Ireland, without any aſſiſtance whatſoever from England, and without the ſmalleſt interference of the Marquis Cornwallis, our preſent Lord Lieutenant: and a conciſe detail of the principal operations is given, to convince Britiſh Stateſmen, that Iriſh Romaniſts are not ſo formidable as to entitle them to ſuch conſideration as they at preſent ſeem to attach to them; and that Iriſh Proteſtants are not ſo weak, that it has become neceſſary for the Britiſh Government to enter into a treaty with Iriſh Romaniſts, and to ſacrifice the Britiſh Conſtitution, as ſettled at the glorious Revolution, at the ſhrine of their ambition, for the preſervation of the Proteſtants of Ireland; as ſeems to be an opinion entertained (or rather pretended

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pretended to be entertained) by ſome Engliſh Stateſmen; if credit is to be given to the pamphlets publiſhed as the purport of ſeveral Speeches made in the Britiſh Parliament on the ſubject of the Union. This account of the ſuppreſſion of the Rebellion alſo proves, that the idea of keeping up the preſent eſtabliſhment in Ireland by force (if the Rebellions of Iriſh Romaniſts ſhall make force neceſſary) is not impracticable and abſurd, as is dogmatically and inſolently aſſerted by the Romiſh writer already ſo often mentioned. How ſhort would be the exiſtence, not only of the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment in Ireland, but of the Iriſh Proteſtants themſelves, were they reduced to rely on the juſtice and mercy of their Romiſh fellow-ſubjects!

The Marquis Cornwallis landed in Ireland, and was ſworn into his office of Lord Lieutenant on the 20th of June 1798, ſubſequent to the ſignal defeat of the Rebels at Roſs and Arklow, on the very day of their deciſive diſcomfiture at Vinegar Hill, and after the total ſuppreſſion of the inſurrection in the North of Ireland. The firſt regiment of Engliſh Militia which arrived in Ireland, landed in Dublin on the 29th of June 1798; it was the Buckinghamſhire regiment: it was followed on the 1ſt of July 1798 by the Warwickſhire regiment: the arrivals of the other regiments of Engliſh Militia were all ſubſequent. They were not ſent to ſuppreſs the Rebellion, but to aſſiſt his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects in Ireland in repelling a French invaſion, which was then expected, and was ſhortly afterwards unſucceſsfully attempted by the enemy. Every loyal man in the kingdom welcomed theſe generous volunteers in the ſervice of their King and Country, with joy and gratulation; but this their reception was not owing to any idea entertained in Ireland, that ſhe lay under any particular

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particular obligation to Great Britain for ſuch aſſiſtance; becauſe it is as much the intereſt of Great Britain to aſſiſt Ireland in repelling the common enemy, as it would be the intereſt of Ireland to aſſiſt Great Britain on a ſimilar emergency: they are both parts of one and the ſame empire, and their intereſts, in reſpect to defence againſt a common enemy, cannot be divided.

Obſervations on a pamphlet, entitled, 'Arguments for and againſt an Union conſidered.'

In this place it is proper to mention a pamphlet publiſhed in Ireland, entitled, '*Arguments for and againſt an Union conſidered*,' being the pamphlet which this Romiſh writer profeſſes to anſwer, and which he calls Mr. C.'s pamphlet. It is generally ſuppoſed to have been written by a gentleman high in the confidence of Government, and contains many ſtrong arguments in favour of an Union; yet there are ſome parts of it which merit reprehenſion; and particularly thoſe in which the author grounds his arguments for an Union, on the power of the Iriſh Romaniſts: he uſes too frequently the argument of Intimidation, to prevail on the Proteſtants of Ireland to reſort to the aſylum of an Incorporating Union with Great Britain, for protection againſt the irreſiſtible power of the Iriſh Romaniſts, as he repreſents it. The ſuppoſed author is an Engliſhman, and it has given me no ſmall degree of uneaſineſs to obſerve, that a Gentleman of abilities, as he certainly is, has ſo often deſerted the irrefragable arguments for the expediency, and even the neceſſity of an Incorporating Union of the two kingdoms, ariſing from conſiderations of the preſent ſtate of Europe, and evident mutual advantage of both countries; and reſorted to arguments of terror, grounded on unſubſtantial, fantaſtic, and fabulous repreſentations; as old women frighten froward children in a nurſery to compliance, by

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ſtories of fairies and hobgoglins. I am as ſincerely and zealouſly attached to the meaſure of an Incorporating Union, as any Miniſter or individual in the Britiſh Empire, can be: but I diſdain to ſupport ſo great, ſo important, ſo neceſſary a meaſure, by ſuch frivolous and puerile arguments: and when I find ſuch reſorted to by great Stateſmen, I am induced to ſuſpect, that ſome portentous innovation in the conſtitution of the Britiſh Empire is meditated, under the cloak of this ſalutary meaſure; and that Britons are to be reconciled to an acquieſcence in ſuch innovation, by fraudulently perſuading them, that the meaſure could not be effected, but through the medium of the innovation. *Aliquid monſtri alant!*

This Gentleman in his pamphlet ſtates, that Iriſh Romaniſts are to Iriſh Proteſtants in the proportion of three to one; this proportion is very raſhly adopted from the calculations of a ſeditious Romiſh aſſembly, which was collected ſome years ago in the city of Dublin, and which ſtyled itſelf the Catholic Convention; it prepared a Petition to His Majeſty on behalf of the Iriſh Romaniſts, which was a collection of impudent falſehoods, miſrepreſentations, and groundleſs calumnies againſt their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects. This ſtatement I have already refuted. (See Appendix, No. I.) He then ſtates, that the Iriſh Proteſtants have been obliged to rely upon Britiſh aſſiſtance for the preſervation of their property and exiſtence at different periods. This is very true; and the aſſiſtance has been furniſhed, becauſe the Iriſh Proteſtants were attacked by the Iriſh Romaniſts, for their attachment to the conſtitution in Church and State, as eſtabliſhed in England; and their fidelity to the Engliſh Crown; and becauſe it was abſolutely neceſſary for England to ſupport

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ſupport them, or abandon Ireland, part of her dominions; and ſhe might have as well abandoned Yorkſhire; ſhe aſſiſted the Iriſh Proteſtants for her own emolument; they were fighting her battles: but the inference attempted to be drawn from it in the pamphlet is, that the Iriſh Proteſtants are not *now* able to preſerve their property and exiſtence from deſtruction by the Iriſh Romaniſts, without the aſſiſtance of Great Britain: this I truſt is already ſatisfactorily proved not to be a fact. At the Revolution the Iriſh Romaniſts were completely conquered, their power reduced, and the Iriſh Proteſtant intereſt ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, and placed on ſuch ſolid foundations, that it has been ever ſince able to ſupport itſelf againſt the aſſaults of the Romaniſts, without the aſſiſtance of Great Britain; and is now fully able ſo to do: all that Iriſh Proteſtants require from their brethren in England is, that they will not be cheated into a ſupport of the Iriſh Romaniſts againſt them, and in fact againſt themſelves, by the miſrepreſentations and pernicious doctrines of the diſciples of Mr. Burke, the modern apoſtle of Popery: they deprecate the effects on the conſtitution of the ſpirit of Burkiſm in England. Certain it is, that the Iriſh Proteſtants would not be able to ſupport their properties and exiſtence againſt the Iriſh Romaniſts aſſiſted by a ſtrong French fleet and army, without the aſſiſtance of Great Britain; but in ſuch caſe they claim ſuch aſſiſtance, not as a boon, but as a right; not on their own account alone, but on that of Great Britain alſo: Ireland is a part of the Britiſh Empire: as ſuch ſhe is engaged in the preſent war with France; and the loſs of Ireland would be attended by a prodigious diminution of the ſtrength, probably by the deſtruction of that Empire: it could not receive a greater injury, a more deadly wound, by the French occupation

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occupation of part of the iſland of Great Britain, than by the French occupation of Ireland: and when the Britiſh Government, or thoſe employed by them, argue on the preſumed weakneſs of the Proteſtants of Ireland, they are in fact depreciating their own ſtrength, inviting French invaſion, and exciting Iriſh Romaniſts to Rebellion!

The moſt dangerous and reprehenſible paragraph in the laſt-mentioned pamphlet is the following: 'Whilſt Ireland remains a ſeparate country from Great Britain, 'Great Britain is not pledged on any ſpecific principle to 'ſupport one *ſect* in Ireland more than another: if ſhe 'cannot preſerve the connexion of the two kingdoms in 'their eſtabliſhment, their power, and their property, 'I know not by what tie ſhe is debarred from aſſiſting 'the Catholics; for whilſt the kingdoms are ſeparate and 'independent, Ireland, *except where the Crown is concerned*, 'is merely bound by the ties of intereſt to England, and 'in a ſimilar manner England is only bound by the ties of 'intereſt, *and the rights of the Crown*, to Ireland: ſhe is 'pledged to preſerve Ireland to the Britiſh Crown, but 'not to any particular means, or any particular prin'ciples for maintaining that connexion.' Here then is a publie declaration by a Gentleman, ſuppoſed to ſtand very high in the confidence of both the Iriſh and Engliſh Adminiſtrations, and who holds an employment of great truſt under Government, that it is totally immaterial to the Engliſh nation, whether Proteſtantiſm or Popery be the eſtabliſhed religion of Ireland. His Romiſh antagoniſt compares the Proteſtant religion to a Meduſa's head; he beſtows the title of *Sect* upon it. But it is worth while a little to examine the premiſſes, from which this extraordinary concluſion, that Great Britain is not

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bound to support the Protestant Religion, more than the Romish, in Ireland, is deduced: the one is, that the kingdom of Ireland, in its present state, is separate from, and independent of, the kingdom of Great Britain. This premiss is false, for the kingdom of Ireland, in its present state, is inseparably annexed, united to, and dependant on the Imperial Crown of Great Britain: the supreme Executive Power in Great Britain and Ireland is vested in the same person; but the supreme Executive Power in both kingdoms, is one of the three branches of the supreme Legislative Power in both; so that the two kingdoms have even part of their Legislative Powers common to both. No Act of Parliament can pass in Ireland until after it has been sent into England, and has there obtained the approbation of the British Cabinet, and has the great seal of England affixed to it; the Government of England, therefore, can, at its discretion, prevent the enaction of any law by the Legislature of Ireland: these are surely strong bands of dependance of Ireland on Great Britain; and in fact, in the present situation of the two kingdoms, the connexion between them, and dependance of one on the other, are so strong, that the Anti-Unionists, as is already observed, found on it their most powerful argument against an Incorporating Union, alleging that the two kingdoms are now inseparably united, and that no further Union is necessary. His second premiss is, that, in their present state, Great Britain cannot preserve the connexion of the two kingdoms in their establishment, their power, and their property: it is true this is introduced hypothetically, with an *if*, but the conclusion drawn from it is absolute, at least so far so, that without an Incorporating Union it is to be taken as absolute. But this premiss is as false as the other; for the Irish Protestants themselves,

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if Great Britain does not take a part againſt them, are able enough to preſerve their eſtabliſhment, their power and property, and their connexion with Great Britain, in defiance of the threats or rebellions of Iriſh Romaniſts; and no doubt can be entertained that Great Britain has power ſufficient to do the ſame: ſo that the concluſion, that Great Britain is not bound to ſupport the Iriſh Proteſtant more than the Iriſh Romaniſt, unlogically deduced from one falſe, andone hypothetic premiſs implying a falſity, falls to the ground. But the aſſertions, that Great Britain is not bound by any ſpecific principle to ſupport one more than the other; and that as ſhe is only bound to ſecure Ireland to the Britiſh Crown, without being bound to any ſpecific meaſures for ſo doing, ſhe may effect this, by giving her ſupport to the Romaniſts, and cruſhing the Proteſtants in Ireland; require ſome further animadverſion.

King James the Second was driven from his Throne by the Revolution of 1688, for attempting to place Romaniſts, both in Great Britain and Ireland, on an equal footing in reſpect to all civil privileges, with his Proteſtant ſubjects; and his Romiſh iſſue, if any he had, together with all the next heirs of the Crown, being Romaniſts, on the demiſe of his Proteſtant iſſue without iſſue, were declared by Act of Parliament incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown, and the ſucceſſion limited to his next Proteſtant relations, the iſſue of the Princeſs Sophia, grand-daughter of King James the Firſt, as if the intermediate Romiſh heirs were dead: and his preſent Majeſty, whom God long preſerve, under that title, now ſits on the Imperial Throne of the Britiſh Empire. Here then is a King dethroned, the hereditary ſucceſſion interrupted, and turned

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into the Proteſtant channel, merely for the purpoſe of ſecuring a ſucceſſion of Proteſtant Monarchs to Great Britain and Ireland: a fundamental principle of our conſtitution is varied by a condition, to wit, that the next heir ſhall ſucceed to the Throne only on the terms of his being a Proteſtant. Does not His Majeſty hold his Crown by this Proteſtant title, and is he not bound to ſwear at his Coronation, that he will to the utmoſt of his power inviolably maintain the Proteſtant Religion as eſtabliſhed in Ireland, as well as in Great Britain? Are not His Majeſty and his ſucceſſors bound ſo to ſwear, as well by the Act of the 1ſt of William and Mary, as by the Articles of the Union of England and Scotland, and the Act confirming them? Why was the Crown limited to the Proteſtant heirs only, and why was ſuch variation made in our ancient law of Hereditary Succeſſion? Was it not to prevent, as far as human wiſdom could provide, all future attempts to give Popery an eſtabliſhment, either in Great Britain or Ireland? Is not Great Britain bound by a ſpecific principle to ſupport the Proteſtant Religion, in oppoſition to Popery, within herſelf? And is ſhe not bound by the ſame ſpecific principle to the ſame conduct in Ireland to the utmoſt of her power? How then can this Gentleman ſupport his poſition, that Great Britain is not bound by any ſpecific principle to ſupport the Proteſtant Religion, rather than Popery, in Ireland? It is an inſtance among many to be found in his pamphlet, how far men of good abilities may be led to advance the moſt unwarrantable poſitions, when they endeavour to deduce concluſions unſupported by the ſubſtantial pillars of Reaſon and Fact. Such is the nature of all his arguments of intimidation in favour of an Union.

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I once heard it roundly aſſerted, that if the Houſes of Lords and Commons ſhould agree on a bill for ſubverting the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment in Ireland, His Majeſty, notwithſtanding his Coronation Oath, would be bound to give it the Royal aſſent, and thereby eſtabliſh it as a law, becauſe his Coronation Oath in all particulars is ſo to be conſtrued, that it is not binding againſt the opinion of the two Houſes. I never can agree with ſuch reaſoning—I cannot find any ſuch ſaving in the Coronation Oath: it is an abſolute Oath; and I never can allow that the two Houſes of Parliament have any ſuch power, as that of diſpenſing with the obligations of poſitive Oaths: I believe and hope, that the Parliament never will aſſume the power of abſolving from the obſervance of Oaths: it would thereby aſſume the power arrogated by the Pope, which is ſo much and ſo juſtly reprobated by all good Chriſtians. And as His Majeſty is bound by his Coronation Oath inviolably to maintain the Proteſtant Religion as it is now eſtabliſhed in Ireland, ſo is he bound to reſiſt all conceſſions of privileges to any claſs of his ſubjects, which would impair or weaken that eſtabliſhment; though perhaps they would not be at firſt attended, or immediately followed, by its total ſubverſion.

This Gentleman has alſo ſtated very erroneouſly, as a known hiſtorical fact, that the Iriſh Houſe of Commons was framed with the ſole view of excluding Roman Catholics. The fact is quite otherwiſe: the aſſertion is a ſlander on the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, invented by our modern Jacobin Reformers of Parliament; and is refuted by all hiſtory and records. (See Carte's Hiſtory of the Duke of Ormond, pages 11. 13. 18. 19.) I am ſurpriſed

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priſed that he could be hurried into ſuch ſtrange miſtakes: I have heretofore fully refuted this aſſertion, in my 'Anſwer to Mr. Grattan's Addreſs,' from undoubted authority of hiſtory and records; and any perſon who wiſhes to be informed on this head, may be ſatisfied by reading part of that anſwer, under the title of 'Remarks on Mr. Grattan's 'Account of the Creation of Boroughs.' Romaniſts were excluded from Parliament by teſts impoſed by Acts of Parliament: a demonſtration, if Hiſtory had been ſilent on the point, that the Houſe of Commons was framed antecedent to the excluſion of Romaniſts: and theſe teſts were impoſed from neceſſity; the Romaniſts by rebellions and maſſacres, which had their origin in their religious principles, having proved the impracticability of communicating the ſupreme authority of the State with them. Romaniſts are excluded from ſeats in the Parliament of Great Britain by the impoſition of the ſame teſt oaths. Will this Gentleman aſſert, that the Britiſh Houſe of Commons was framed with the ſole view of excluding Romaniſts? He has many other objectionable paſſages in his pamphlet, of which his antagoniſt, the writer of '*The Caſe of Ireland Re-conſidered*,' has not failed to take the advantage: I am very ſorry that the merit of many excellent arguments in favour of an Union contained in it ſhould be leſſened by ſuch crudities; particularly as I have a great reſpect and eſteem for the ſuppoſed author of it: and I would not have taken any notice of his pamphlet, except to commend it, had not his antagoniſt availed himſelf of the miſtakes and miſtatements in it, and thereby put me to the neceſſity, in expoſing his miſchievous poſitions, of animadverting in ſome degree on this performance.

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Continuation of the Strictures on 'The Case of Ireland Re-considered.'

It is now time to refute the parts of the Romish author's pamphlet, in which he attempts, rather to insinuate than prove, that the late Rebellion in Ireland was not a Romish Rebellion. He knew if he ventured to make such an assertion directly, he laid himself open to direct refutation, and provoked it: he therefore chose rather to make use of a mode of desultory argument on this weak side of his defence of Irish Romanists, from the too well founded objections to their pretensions, arising from their open acts of hostility against their Protestant countrymen, by aiming detached strokes of accusation against some reputed Protestants, who were concerned in the Rebellion. This mode of defence of his party is contrary to the general tenour of his argument; which is, that the Irish Romanists are excluded from equal privileges with their fellow-subjects, that their number and property entitle them to these privileges, that the exclusion therefrom warrants their hostility to the State, and that their propensity to such hostility will continue as long as the exclusion, and will break out into open acts of violence on every proper opportunity, and that the late Rebellion was the consequence of such exclusion; thereby in fact admitting, that it was a Romish Rebellion. In page 22 he has the following paragraph: 'No doubt a connexion with 'France has lately been renewed, but those who took the 'lead in it were of all descriptions, but persons chiefly 'Presbyterians and Protestants; of five men who com- 'posed the (Irish) Directory, four were Protestants, al- 'though of any other five men in the country, four were 'Catholics.' In page 11 he thus writes: 'May not the 'present misfortunes of Ireland be rather ascribed to the 'efforts of a party (the Protestants) to force on us again 'our childish trammels which we had outgrown? This

'accounts

'accounts for the union of all deſcriptions of men in 'the late *oppoſition to Government.*' It is worthy of notice, that he ſtyles Rebellion, *Oppoſition to Government*; ſo indeed it is with a vengeance! In page 47 is the following obſervation: 'It is difficult to compre-'hend the wiſdom of that ſyſtem, which drove Proteſtant, 'Preſbyterian, and Catholic, into a deſperate union againſt 'it.' There are many other ſtrokes of the ſame nature diſperſed through his pamphlet. To begin with the firſt aſſertion; that of the Iriſh Directory four were Proteſtants, and only one Romaniſt; the truth is, there was not one of the five a Proteſtant: four of them were profeſſed Deiſts or Atheiſts, diſciples of Mr. Thomas Paine; and the fifth, M'Nevin, was a bigoted Romaniſt: he declared indeed, on his examination before the Committee of the Houſe of Lords, that he and his party meant to ſubvert the preſent Proteſtant Church Eſtabliſhment, and not to eſtabliſh any religion in its room, but he well knew that the ſubverſion of the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment in Ireland would of itſelf be the eſtabliſhment of Popery. There was not one Proteſtant engaged in the Rebellion, except a few of the meaneſt of the Diſſenting claſs, in a corner of the North of Ireland, unleſs the avowed diſciples of Mr. Paine are to be accounted Proteſtants. Theſe Diſſenters were ſeduced into it, by plauſible pretences of Reform of Parliament and Abolition of Tithes: but the barbarous conduct of the Leinſter Rebels, in maſſacring all Proteſtants they could lay their hands on in cold blood, ſoon convinced them of their error; and one of their leaders, an attorney by profeſſion, being taken and hanged, at his execution declared that he and his party were then fully convinced, if they had ſucceeded, that they muſt have fought the battle over again; that is,

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is, that they would have to fight their Romiſh confederates, who they perceived intended to deſtroy all Proteſtants. A great proportion of the Inſurgents in the North were Romaniſts; for in both the counties of Down and Antrim, in which the Northern Inſurrection happened, there are many Romiſh inhabitants. This Inſurrection was very ſpeedily quelled. The leaders of the Diſſenters concerned in it were all notorious ſectaries, —Arians, Socinians, or Deiſts; there was not one real Chriſtian Diſſenter engaged in it, except a very few of the meaneſt of the people, who were cheated into it in the manner I have already mentioned. All Proteſtant Diſſenters of any account, who were real Chriſtians, joined heart and hand with the Proteſtants of the Eſtabliſhment throughout the nation, and fought courageouſly againſt the Inſurgents.

The great ſtrength of the Rebels lay in the province of Leinſter, and they were to a man Romaniſts, except about ſix, who were profeſſed Painites. Mr. Bagenal Harvey was one of theſe. A few days before the Rebellion broke out he had been arreſted on a charge of Treaſon, by order of Government, and was confined in the gaol of Wexford. When the Rebels got poſſeſſion of that town, ſoon after the commencement of the Inſurrection, they liberated Mr. Harvey; and as he was a man of ſome eſtate and intereſt in the county, they choſe him for a nominal leader only, and he marched with them to the attack of Roſs. His command was merely nominal: he never had any effectual authority among them. As ſoon as they were defeated at Roſs, they depoſed him, and choſe a Romiſh Farmer, one Roach, who had been the permanent Serjeant of a Yeomanry Corps,

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Corps, and had deserted, one of their Generals; together with a number of others, all Romanists, to wit, Sutton, Fitzgerald, Parry, Hay, Roach, and Murphy, the two last Romish Priests, and many other Priests. They first assembled in the county of Wexford, by parishes, at the respective Romish chapels, and were generally headed by their Priests. Mr. Harvey, when he saw them commence the massacre of the Protestants, which he was unable to prevent, spoke feelingly, to a friend he happened to fall in with, of his own situation: 'I see now 'my folly,' said he, 'in embarking in this cause with 'these people: if they succeed, I shall be murdered by 'them; if they are defeated, I shall be hanged.'

The aggregate body of the Leinster Rebels, all Romanists, assembled in the county of Wexford. Their defeats and dispersion I have already stated. Their barbarity was not exceeded by their inhuman forefathers in the massacre of the Protestants in the year 1641. The diocese of Ferns, in which this Rebellion broke out, was remarkable for a very pious, regular, and resident body of Protestant Clergy. The Bishop was almost always resident, and had not for many years absented himself from the diocese for a fortnight in each year, previous to 1798, though his residence was within fifty miles of the city of Dublin. He attended to his episcopal duty, in every branch of it, with the greatest zeal and activity. In this calamitous year of Rebellion, he had, contrary to his usual custom, resided in Dublin about two months, immediately previous to its breaking out; and was at that time, very fortunately for himself and his family, absent from Ferns; otherwise he would have certainly fallen a sacrifice to the bigoted fury of the Rebels. They were

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were therefore obliged to content themſelves with the plunder and dilapidation of his houſe, which had been but lately erected, and on which he and his predeceſſor had expended above ten thouſand pounds. They burned his library, and deſtroyed his furniture. On the firſt burſt of the Inſurrection, the Rebels murdered, in the moſt barbarous manner, all the Proteſtant Clergymen they could lay their hands on. The Rev. Meſſrs. Turner, Burrowes, Throke, Pentland, and Heydon, fell ſacrifices to their ſanguinary bigotry. They in ſome days after took the Reverend Mr. Owen priſoner: they tortured him, and he was thereby for ſome time bereft of his reaſon. His life was ſpared by ſome accident, as was that of the Reverend Mr. Francis, who, notwithſtanding, was ſo much reduced by famine (the Rebels having for many days allowed him no ſubſiſtence but ſome potatoes which had been cut into pieces for the purpoſe of planting), that he died ſhortly after he was delivered from them. They cauſed their Prieſts to baptize two or three other Proteſtant Clergymen who had fallen into their hands, and their lives were ſpared on their ſubmitting to have ſuch a ceremony performed upon them; the Rebels eſteeming ſuch ſubmiſſion an abjuration of their religion, and an adoption into the Romiſh Church. The Reverend Mr. Heydon, already mentioned, was a native of the county of Wexford, had ſpent almoſt his whole life there, was near eighty years of age, and was as charitable a man, and as much eſteemed, as any in the county. The Rebels inſiſted that he ſhould ſubmit to be baptized, which he declining to do, they immediately pierced him with their pikes, and he fell dead in the preſence of his wife: they ſtripped his body, and it lay expoſed in the ſtreets of Enniſcorthy for nine

days,

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days, till it was almoſt devoured by the ſwine. Some of the Rebels, leſs ferocious than the others, buried the body privately at night in the church-yard: the next day others of them dug it up, and flung it into the ſtreet. Such was the fate of this ancient Clergyman, as reſpectable in his profeſſion as any either in Great Britain or Ireland, who ſeemed to be beloved, and deſerved to be ſo, by all his pariſhioners, whether Proteſtants or Romaniſts. Moſt of the other Proteſtant Clergymen in the dioceſe were lucky enough to eſcape from theſe barbarians, ſome of them in open boats, acroſs the channel into Wales, carrying nothing with them but the clothes on their backs; they all loſt their properties, which were ſeized on as plunder by the Rebels.

Previous to the battle of Roſs, the Rebels had collected all the Proteſtants, men, women, and children, they could lay their hands on, in their march from Wexford to the battle. Theſe they left priſoners in the cuſtody of one of their captains, a farmer, of the name of Murphy, at the houſe of Mr. King, a Proteſtant gentleman (who luckily eſcaped from their fury), at a place called Scollobogue, ſome miles diſtant from Roſs. About ſixty men were confined in the manſion-houſe, and the reſt, men, women, and children, to the number of one hundred and eighty-five, in the adjacent barn. On the day of the battle of Roſs, the Rebels diſpatched a meſſenger to Murphy, to deſire him, in the name of their General, to put all the priſoners to death, as the King's troops were getting the better, and the priſoners would eſcape. Murphy at firſt heſitated, and deſired a written order to warrant this barbarous execution; but a ſecond meſſage, to the ſame effect, was ſhortly after delivered to him from

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from Murphy, a Romiſh Prieſt, and one of the Rebel Commanders, with which latter order the Captain and his gang, conſiſting of about three hundred, determined to comply. The ſixty men were firſt brought out of the manſion-houſe, man by man, and all ſhot, or murdered by the ſtabs of pikes, in the front of the houſe, except two, whom Murphy, for ſome reaſon or other, ſpared. The Rebels determined to make ſhorter work with the people in the barn, the majority of whom were women and children: they ſurrounded it, piled combuſtibles about it, and ſet it on fire. The encloſed victims endeavoured to force the doors: their barbarous executioners kept up an inceſſant fire of muſketry upon them, and killed all who ſhewed their heads. The doors were divided in the middle, ſo that the upper parts were open whilſt the lower parts were cloſed. The Rebels threw numberleſs ſheaves of ſtraw, all in flames, into the barn at theſe apertures. One unhappy woman had a child in her arms, which ſhe was ſuckling: finding death inevitable, ſhe put the child out over the lower part of one of the doors, in hopes that ſome of theſe barbarians might have ſome ſparks of humanity yet twinkling in their boſoms, and would ſave the life of the infant. She was diſappointed: the child was immediately transfixed with a ſpear, and lifted up on the end of it, writhing with torture. This action was loudly applauded by the ſurrounding Rebels! Their ſhouts of triumphant exultation rent the air! The whole number encloſed in the barn were either ſhot dead at the doors, attempting to force their way out, or conſumed within it.

In the town of Wexford, the Rebels had ſeized a number of Proteſtants, whom they confined in the gaol.

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Out of these they daily, during the continuance of the Rebellion, selected a few, and murdered them with great parade in the most public part of the town; generally marching them under strong guards through the streets to the end of the bridge, military music attending, and playing a dead march; charging them with no crime whatsoever, except that they were heretics irreclaimable. At the end of the bridge they were put on their knees, immediately pierced with pikes, and their bodies thrown into the river, which is there deep and broad. But on the day of the decisive battle of Vinegar Hill, distant only eleven miles from Wexford, the Rebels in the town determined to murder all their prisoners; and on that day they conducted eighty-six protestants from the gaol to the bridge, marching them by sixteen or eighteen at a time, with music playing a dead march, and there murdered them all with their pikes. The Rebel who showed himself most active in this butchery was celebrated by the rest as *a Hero, who never winced at running a Heretic through the body.* Such were their expressions! The remaining prisoners, men, women, and children, were doomed to slaughter on the next day; but a party of the King's troops in the morning rushed suddenly into the town: the Rebels sought their safety in flight, and the lives of upwards of three hundred Protestants were saved. All the facts I have above mentioned of the barbarities committed by the Rebels, are notorious, and have been proved on the oaths of the most respectable witnesses, on the trials of several Rebels, who have been convicted of having been concerned in these massacres. It is in vain for Romish writers to deny them: they dare not attempt it in Ireland, where all people are perfectly acquainted with the above circumstances. This Romish writer

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writer has publiſhed his inſidious pamphlet in England; it is calculated for that meridian; he hoped to impoſe on the credulity of ſtrangers; and even there he had not aſſurance peremptorily to aſſert that it was not a Romiſh Rebellion,—he only ſtrongly inſinuates that it was not.

The Inſurgents in the two counties of Antrim and Down were partly Proteſtant Diſſenters of the loweſt claſs, and partly Romaniſts. They were few in number, feeble in their operations, and were ſpeedily diſperſed. They committed no maſſacres, becauſe the Romaniſts among them were obliged to conceal their ſanguinary projects from the Proteſtant Diſſenters aſſociated with them, and whom they had drawn into the Rebellion by holding forth to them the ſcheme of a Democratic Republic, and the ſubverſion of the Church Eſtabliſhment. Theſe Inſurgents in the North, of different religious perſuaſions, had different views, which they ſtudiouſly concealed from each other. The Diſſenters among them thought they were making tools of the Romaniſts, to aſſiſt in the overthrow of the Eſtabliſhment in Church and State, and the ſubſtitution of a Republic; believing that they would be able to ſecure the political power in ſuch a State to themſelves, and introduce that ſpecies of religious perſuaſion which, in the days of Cromwell, was diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Independency*, throughout the nation: their principal leaders were diſguiſed Atheiſts. The Romaniſts, on the other hand, thought, and with much more reaſon, that they were making tools of the Diſſenters, by inducing them to aſſiſt in the ſubverſion of the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment in Church and State, and the ſubſtitution of a Democratic Republic; becauſe they knew that ſuch a project could not be carried into execution

execution but by the extirpation of all the Irish Proteſtants of the Eſtabliſhment, and a Separation from Great Britain, for ages the favourite purſuits of Iriſh Romaniſts; and they ſaw plainly enough that the whole political power of the nation muſt fall into their hands, in the event of the ſucceſs of ſuch projects; becauſe the Proteſtant Diſſenters in Ireland do not amount to one-eighth part of the Romaniſts in number; and in a Democratic Republic, ſuch a ſmall ſection of the people, bereft of the ſupport of the Proteſtants of the Eſtabliſhment, and of Great Britain, could have very little political influence, if they were even ſuffered to remain in the country, which, from the religious tenets of the Romaniſts, is highly improbable. The Romaniſts know alſo, that the ſubverſion of the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment would of itſelf be a ſubſtitution of a Romiſh, without further trouble; for, from the religious tenets of the Romiſh Faith, its votaries are bound to pay their tithes to their reſpective Pariſh Prieſts, without the ſanction of any temporal law whatſoever; and hence it is, that all laws enforcing the payment of tithes to Proteſtant Clergymen by them are accounted impious, and the exaction of ſuch payment a ſacrilege; *which tenet of itſelf will for ever render them irreconcilable enemies to a Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment.* Hence their Clergy, by the ſucceſs of their deſigns, would be immediately put into poſſeſſion of all the tithes of the nation. Add to this the immenſe ſums which the Romiſh Clergy levy on their Laity from Confeſſions, from Indulgences, from the doctrine of Purgatory, from Diſpenſations, and other concomitants of their ſuperſtition, reprobated by the Proteſtant doctrines; and it will be eaſily ſeen, that it would not be neceſſary, on the ſubverſion of the Proteſtant Church Eſtabliſhment,

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to ſecure, by temporal laws, any particular endowment for the ſupport of the Romiſh Clergy; and that, even in their preſent condition, they levy a very ample ſubſiſtence on their people.

The horrible cruelties exerciſed by the great body of the Rebels in Leinſter on the Proteſtants, ſoon alarmed the few Diſſenters, confederates of the Romiſh Inſurgents in the North. They immediately ſaw into the real deſign of their new allies; and withdrawing themſelves from a conſpiracy which, they clearly perceived, would in its ſucceſs be attended with their own deſtruction, all projects of Rebellion vaniſhed in the province of Ulſter. Rebellion there was but partially entertained; it never had very numerous partiſans: the flame, thus feeble, was eaſily quenched, never to be re-kindled; and the people have returned to their accuſtomed induſtrious purſuits. The great ſtrength of the Rebellion lay in the province of Leinſter. The whole maſs of the Romiſh inhabitants of the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Kildare, and Carlow, roſe at once. Many inhabitants of the adjacent counties, particularly of Meath and Dublin, of the ſame religious perſuaſion, joined them. Their number in arms at one time amounted to upwards of fifty thouſand men. Confiding in this ſtrength, they did not think it neceſſary to conceal their deſigns of extirpating the Proteſtants: the exciſion of all Heretics they, on the contrary, proclaimed to be their object and intention; and evinced, by their actions, the ſincerity of this declaration.

So early as the year 1792, the Iriſh Romaniſts had projected this Rebellion, and commenced their operations preparative of it. In that year, a Secret Committee of

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them, which had before for ſome years privately aſſembled in Dublin, determined to take deciſive ſteps towards combining their whole collected power throughout the nation, and making one united effort to ſeparate the nation from Great Britain, ſubvert the Monarchy, and eſtabliſh a Romiſh Democratic Republic in Ireland, under the protection of France, which encouraged them to the attempt, and whoſe [illegible]rchical ſchemes they reſolved to adopt. The ſucceſs of the French Revolutioniſts inſpired them with hopes of ſimilar ſucceſs; and ſome popular characters in England and Ireland appeared publicly as their abettors, particularly Mr. *Edmund Burke*, who diſpatched his ſon to Ireland to act as their agent, in which capacity he exerted himſelf with great zeal and activity. They were thus emboldened to adopt very daring and open meaſures for carrying their project into execution. With this view a Romiſh merchant in Dublin, one of this private Society, iſſued a kind of writs for the election of a general Repreſentative Aſſembly of the Iriſh Romaniſts, to meet at a certain day in the city of Dublin, there to deliberate on the intereſts of that body, and to concert proper methods for what was ſtyled the Emancipation of the Romaniſts. Theſe writs were directed to the Romiſh Pariſh Prieſts throughout the kingdom, who were to ſuperintend the execution of them. They were executed in the following manner: The Romiſh inhabitants of each pariſh were ſummoned by the Prieſt to meet at the Romiſh chapel; and there two deputies were elected by the majority of the votes of the adults of the whole congregation without diſtinction. Theſe deputies met the deputies of all the pariſhes of a barony or hundred, at an appointed time and place, and elected, by plurality of votes, two deputies for the barony from among

among themſelves. Theſe two baronial deputies met, at a certain time and place, the other baronial deputies, and elected two deputies from among themſelves, as repreſentatives of the county. The ſame mode of election of repreſentatives was purſued in cities and towns corporate. Theſe repreſentatives met at the Taylors' Hall, in the city of Dublin, appointed proper officers, and continued ſitting for many weeks, with the doors of the hall carefully cloſed and guarded, within a furlong of the Caſtle of Dublin, the reſidence of the Viceroy. Their aſſembling was open and notorious: their deliberations were kept profoundly ſecret. The Magiſtracy of the city of Dublin would have immediately diſperſed this unlawful aſſembly, which, in imitation of the French, aſſumed the title of *the Catholic Convention*; but the Government declined to warrant or countenance ſuch exertion of the Police. This Convention compoſed a paper, which they ſtyled the Petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to His Majeſty, which is one entire ſyſtem of the moſt audacious and groundleſs falſehoods and miſrepreſentations that was ever framed: it is a virulent and malicious invective and libel on the Proteſtants of Ireland and the eſtabliſhed Government, and a forgery of grievances of Iriſh Romaniſts which never exiſted. They at length cloſed their ſeſſion, firſt electing nine of their members to compoſe a permanent Council of Iriſh Traitors. This they ſtyled the Permanent Committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Of theſe M'Nevin, their Ambaſſador to the French Directory, was the chief. They levied great ſums of money by a regular aſſeſſment, which they impoſed on the Iriſh Romaniſts, and to which they univerſally ſubmitted. They ſent a deputation to Belfaſt, to ſeduce the

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Protestant Dissenters there to enter into a confederacy with them, for the annihilation of the Constitution, under pretence of a co-operation for a Reform of the Representation in Parliament; and to the operations of that Deputation is the late feeble Northern Insurrection, which I have mentioned, to be ascribed. They appointed deputies to present the flagitious libel, which they styled a Petition to His Majesty; and so great was the influence of Mr. Burke in England at that time, that he procured the introduction of these Deputies to His Majesty, by one of the Secretaries of State; and they presented their Petition. To the same influence is justly to be attributed the passive conduct of the Irish Government, in respect to that unlawful assembly. The whole mass of the Irish Romanists submitted to the authority of this Committee of Nine. They were selected out of the Representatives chosen by them all in the manner I have mentioned, and appointed by the votes of that whole body to conduct the projects and schemes of the Irish Romanists; they are therefore to be considered as their existing Representatives, and they have acted as such ever since, till the breaking out of the Rebellion. One of them, M'Nevin, was the most active diplomatic member of the Irish Directory.

In the year 1795, when Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Committee of Nine determined that the whole mass of Irish Romanists should present a Petition to Parliament, praying, or rather demanding, what they styled Emancipation; that is, the subversion of the Protestant Establishment in Church and State. They published a precedent of such a Petition in the public Newspapers, and sent out their mandate

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mandate to all of their perſuaſion in every part of Ireland, commanding them to ſend up Petitions, drawn after that model, to be preſented to Parliament, ſigned by them in every diſtrict. This mandate was immediately complied with by the whole body. The aſſeſſments of the Convention have been always regularly paid to the Treaſurer, one of the Nine; and the Romiſh body throughout Ireland regularly correſponded with their Secretary M'Cormick, till he fled out of the kingdom, to eſcape puniſhment for his treaſon, ſome time after the commencement of the Rebellion. The Committee of Nine called a general meeting of the Iriſh Romaniſts on the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam. They met at a Romiſh chapel in Dublin. Several ſeditious ſpeeches were ſpoken at this aſſembly by M'Nevin, Keough, and Ryan, three members of the Committee of Nine; and by Lewins, their preſent Ambaſſador at Paris; and very ſeditious reſolutions were entered into by them, and the whole aſſembly. All theſe Speeches and Reſolutions the Committee publiſhed in ſeveral Newſpapers both in Great Britain and Ireland. In one of the Reſolutions agreed to by the whole body, they voted their moſt grateful thanks for his ſervices, and fifteen hundred pounds for his trouble, to Theobald Wolfe Tone, as one of their agents. He was at this time a traitor, in correſpondence with the French Convention, and employed by them to raiſe a Rebellion in Ireland. He was ſince taken by Sir John Borlaſe Warren's ſquadron, coming to invade Ireland with a French army, and having a French commiſſion in his pocket, he was convicted of high treaſon, and ordered for execution; but on the morning of the day appointed for his execution he cut his own throat. His brother, Matthew Tone, was

hanged

hanged and quartered for the same crime. *In another Resolution, the Committee of Nine and their Assembly pledged themselves, collectively and individually, to resist even their Emancipation, if proposed to be conceded on the ignominious terms of an acquiescence in the fatal measure of an Union with Great Britain.*

Of this Committee of Nine, M'Nevin and Sweetman are now confined, as professed traitors, at Fort George in Scotland; Ryan is dead; Keough and M'Cormick have found it prudent to withdraw out of the kingdom; another was long confined on suspicion of treason, but has been lately liberated by the clemency of the Marquis Cornwallis. It is however generally believed that their places have been duly filled up, and that a Committee of Nine, as the Representative of the whole mass of Irish Romanists, still subsists, maintains its authority over that body, and continues its operations.

From the detail of the Rise and Progress of the late Rebellion, here faithfully given, it must be clear to every dispassionate person, that it was a Romish Rebellion, and that it was hatched by the Romish Convention. But it may not be amiss here to insert some quotations from the Reports of the Secret Committee of the British and Irish Houses of Lords respecting it. In the 'Report of 'the Committee of the Irish House of Lords' (page 2) is the following paragraph: 'During that period' (1792 and 1793) 'very considerable sums of money were 'levied upon the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, 'under the authority of a *Committee* of persons of that 'persuasion, who then assumed, and seemed in a great 'degree to succeed in the government and direction of 'the

'the whole body of Iriſh Catholics.' Ibidem, page 4. 'We have taken up the detail of it from that period' (1795 and 1796), 'when the conſpiracy was *ſo matured* 'as to have for its avowed object the array and levy of 'a regular military force in every part of the kingdom, 'for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the French, if they ſhould 'be enabled to make a deſcent upon this country; or, if 'foreign aſſiſtance could not be procured, of making a 'general inſurrection, in the hope of ſubverting the 'Monarchy and Eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment, of ſeizing 'the perſons and confiſcating the property of His Ma- 'jeſty's loyal ſubjects, and of eſtabliſhing a Republi- 'can Government guaranteed by the power of France.' And ibidem, pages 10, 11, 12, may be ſeen an account of the negotiations of M'Nevin, one of the Committee of Nine, with the French Directory, to which I refer the reader.

In the 'Report of the Secret Committee of the Houſe 'of Commons of Great Britain,' ſect. 2, page 10, is the following paſſage: 'The conſpirators in Ireland, unqueſ- 'tionably, always meditated the complete ſeparation of 'that country from Great Britain.' The Report then adverts to *the Society of United Iriſhmen*, which it ſtates to have been inſtituted in the year 1791. And here it is proper to ſtate, that the Romiſh Convention already mentioned was aſſembled in the year 1792, and that almoſt the whole of its members, if not the whole, were *United Iriſhmen*: that all the principal Romiſh leaders in the late Rebellion were members of this Convention; and all of them, together with the whole maſs of the Inſurgents, *United Iriſhmen*. In the Report laſt mentioned, ſect. 7, page 31, adverting to the mutiny in the

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British fleet, is the following passage: 'It appears that 'oaths have been tendered by the Mutineers to the crew 'to be United Irishmen, equal to their brethren in Ire- 'land, and have nothing to do with the King or his 'Government: that they have acted in the professed 'expectation of assistance from France, with the express 'view of co-operating for the expulsion of the Protest- 'ants from Ireland, and the erection of a Romish Ca- 'tholic Government. On another occasion the Oath has 'been as follows: "I swear to be true to the free and 'united Irish, who are now fighting our cause against 'Tyrants and Oppressors, and to defend their rights to 'the last drop of my blood, and to keep all secret: and 'I do agree to carry the ship into Brest, the next time 'the ship looks out a-head at sea, and to kill every offi- 'cer and man that shall hinder us, except the Master; 'and to hoist a green ensign with a harp in it, *and after- 'wards to kill and destroy the Protestants.*" Ibid. page 32. 'Your Committee have no hesitation in stating on the 'clearest proof, strongly confirmed by recent circum- 'stances, that among the various bodies inlisted in any part 'of Great Britain for the purposes of sedition and trea- 'son, the societies which have been formed by the 'United Irishmen in this country are in all respects the 'most formidable, particularly at the present moment; 'whether considered with a view to their combination, 'their actual numbers, or the atrocious nature of the 'designs, of which they are preparing, in a very short 'time, to attempt the execution, in direct co-operation 'with France. The danger to be apprehended from 'these Societies is much increased, from the constant 'communication which they maintain with the Societies 'in Ireland, their mutual confidence in each other, and

'the

'the alarming circumſtance of their being *at this mo-*
'*ment* ſubject to the ſame ſecret direction, and the ſame
'chiefs.'

This 'Report of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons' was ordered to be printed ſo late as the 15th of March 1799. And it is here worthy to be noted, that Mr. Tone, already mentioned, who is acknowledged to have been Agent of the Romiſh Convention in the year 1792, by their Permanent Committee, was the founder of the Society of United Iriſhmen in the year 1791; and it is pretty evident that the Romiſh Convention was only an aſſembly of the moſt conſiderable amongſt the perſonages which compoſed the Society of United Iriſhmen;—a ſpecies of florilegium of that holy brotherhood!

It is now time to inquire what it is which induces Iriſh Romaniſts to act ſo ferociouſly, and to thirſt ſo inſatiably for the blood of their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects; a thirſt at this moment as unquenchable as in the year 1641, the era of the horrible Iriſh maſſacre! It cannot ariſe from the hatred of the native Iriſh to the Britiſh Colony, contracted from the tyranny of the Colony exerciſed over the natives, as is with equal effrontery and falſehood aſſerted by the author of the pamphlet entitled, '*Conſiderations on the State of public Affairs in the Year* '1799. *Ireland*;' for at preſent, and for many years back, the native Iriſh, and the Britiſh, who from time to time migrated into Ireland and ſettled there, are ſo intermixed that no ſuch diſtinction as Native and Coloniſt can properly be ſaid now to remain in the kingdom; ſave that in ſome mountainous parts of the province of Connaught, and in the mountains in the ſouth of the counties

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counties of Cork and Kerry, such fusion has not taken place in any considerable degree; and in those parts there was no Rebellion. In the counties in which the Rebellion raged, to wit, those of Wexford, Wicklow, Carlow, Kildare, Meath, and Dublin, the majority of the peasantry, if their original race is to be discovered by their names, is British. There are two baronies in the county of Wexford, *viz.* those of Forth and Bargy, entirely peopled by the descendants of old English settlers, who yet retain the old English language, as it was spoken in England in the time of Chaucer, and which is almost unintelligible to a modern Englishman. They are for the most part Romanists at this day, and were very active Rebels. The English who settled in other parts of Ireland, previous to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, are so completely incorporated with the original natives, that they cannot now be distinguished from them by their language, customs, or manners; the surnames of the respective families of them alone mark their origin. They may be reputed natives; and there are few who retain Irish surnames through the nation, who have not British blood in their veins. The Romish inhabitants of Ireland called by British surnames, and generally reputed of British extraction, are the most powerful portion of Irish Romanists in point of property. In the late Rebellion, almost all the leaders of the Rebels had English surnames, and the mass of the Insurgents was of the same description; the Rebellion having raged in the parts of Ireland directly opposite to Britain, and chiefly in that part formerly called the Pale, the principal seat of the ancient English Colony. Of the Protestant inhabitants of Ireland, a large portion has Irish surnames, and may be therefore reputed of native Irish

Irish extraction. In a word, the only real and specific distinction of the inhabitants of Ireland in the present time is, that of Protestants and Romanists. The sanguinary hostility of the Irish Romanists against the Irish Protestants cannot therefore be attributed to a national antipathy subsisting between Natives and Colonists; and there is as little ground for ascribing it to any peculiar propensity of the people of Ireland to cruelty, greater than that of other nations. Oppression they cannot reasonably complain of; for the Irish Romanists enjoy a greater portion of civil liberty, than the most favoured subjects of any foreign nation on the face of the earth. There is therefore no other reasonable mode of accounting for it, but by an examination of the doctrines of their Religion: and whoever will attentively consider the precepts of the Council of Lateran before quoted, respecting Heresy, which they hold as a part of their creed, will there find the true sources of all those barbarities, and massacres of their fellow-subjects, which they have been guilty of. The legal punishment of Heresy in the British dominions, during the domination of Popery, was burning alive: hence the burning alive of the unfortunate Protestants in the barn at Scollobogue, and the persecution of them with fire and sword in the late Rebellion. The Irish Romanists committed nothing which they were not warranted, nay commanded, to commit, by the Council of Lateran; and it is remarkable, that at the times of their perpetrating the most atrocious cruelties, they always branded their victims with the opprobrious title of Heretics.

The Romanists in Ireland, whether aboriginal, or of old English extraction, have always endeavoured to shake

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shake off what they call the English yoke, that is, to separate themselves from England; and this political principle has contributed more than any other circumstance to keep them steady to the Romish persuasion, as being hostile to the Protestant faith, the Religion of Britain: their leaders justly enough considering that hostility of Religions is a powerful cement of adverse political parties, and a strong barrier against all treaty; and that Separation from Britain will be always the favourite pursuit of men who firmly believe that Britons are an accursed race, reprobated by Heaven, the objects of Divine vengeance, to be inflicted on them on earth by the swords of the faithful; they therefore support and propagate the Romish Faith, as they have always done, with all their power and influence. And to this political principle of Separation from Britain, as a first cause, may be traced the persevering attachment of such a number of the inhabitants of Ireland to the Romish Faith: and of that attachment their cruelty to their Protestant countrymen is the immediate effect.

I shall now take some notice of the strictures thrown out, by the Author of '*The Case of Ireland Re-considered*,' on the Popery Code some time since repealed in Ireland. The Author has summed up all the old common-place objections to that Code, advanced by the whole swarm of Romish scribblers, with all their exaggerations, since the enaction of it. His objections I have already mentioned; they are principally contained in pages 4 and 34 of his pamphlet. Notwithstanding this Code has been for some years repealed, particularly all such parts of it as he complains of, he again blazons forth its severity, for the purpose of giving a new edge to the weapons

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weapons of his Romiſh countrymen (which he apprehends may have been ſomewhat blunted in the recent Rebellion and Maſſacre), and of miſleading the Engliſh nation into an unfounded opinion, that the Iriſh Romaniſts have been cruelly oppreſſed; and that their recent Rebellion has been the effect of that oppreſſion, not reſorted to for remedy (the Code having been repealed before the Rebellion), but for revenge. It is neceſſary to make a few remarks on his ſtrictures, to ſhow how abſurd they are, and what little ground there is for them: ſo very little indeed, that there is ſufficient reaſon to believe the writer to have been wholly unacquainted with the laws themſelves, and that he merely copied the obſervations he makes upon them from others. His ignorance of the laws of his country is manifeſt from more than one paſſage in his pamphlet. I ſhall give one remarkable inſtance here of his want of knowledge of the laws. In page 41, obſerving on what he calls the Teſt Oaths, meaning the Oaths adminiſtered to every Member of Parliament when he takes his ſeat in the Houſe, he has the following paſſage: 'Among theſe 'Oaths I ſuppoſe is included that of Abjuration, which 'is as violent an inſult to the religion of our allies, 'the firſt nations on the Continent of Europe, as the 'abominable Oath of Hatred to Royalty ſet up as a 'teſt in France, is to their form of government.' The Oath of Supremacy I have already mentioned: the Oath, ſtyled in our Statutes the Oath of Abjuration, is ſimply an oath, firſt, of Allegiance to His Majeſty; next, of ſupport of the Settlement of the Crown, as limited by an Act of Parliament, entitled, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better ſecuring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*; and next an Oath

abjuring

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abjuring all allegiance to the deſcendants of the late King James the Second. This Oath, together with the Oath of Supremacy, and a general Oath of Allegiance, are all the oaths enjoined to be taken by Members of Parliament. How contemptible then is the ignorance of this Author, who ſtates, that this Oath of Abjuration is a violent inſult to the religion of our allies, the firſt nations in Europe!

The Iriſh Popery Code, which this Author complains of, was enacted after the acceſſion of King William and Queen Mary: not all at once, but from time to time, as ſeemed expedient, in ſeveral ſucceſſive Seſſions of the Iriſh Parliaments, from the 4th of William and Mary to the 8th of Anne inclusive, but chiefly in the 2d and 8th of Anne. By this Code Romaniſts were prohibited to teach ſchool, and to take leaſes of lands for a longer term than thirty-one years, or to acquire by purchaſe any more durable intereſt in lands. It provided, that if the eldeſt ſon of a Romaniſt, having an eſtate in fee, conformed to the Proteſtant Religion, his father, from the time of his conformity, became tenant for life of his eſtate, the fee veſted in the conforming ſon, ſubject to the debts and incumbrances, and the Lord Chancellor was empowered to charge the eſtate with fortunes for the younger children, not exceeding in the whole one-third of the full value of it. When a Romaniſt died ſeiſed of an eſtate in fee, if his eldeſt ſon did not conform to the Proteſtant Religion within a year and a day after his father's death (if he was then of full age, or, if then a minor, within a year and a day after he had attained his full age), the eſtate gavelled between him and his brothers. No Romaniſt could enjoy an of-

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fice in the State, a commiſſion in the Army, or a ſeat in Parliament, without taking the Teſt Oaths. Theſe are the parts of the Popery Code, whoſe dire effects on the Iriſh Romaniſts this Author ſo pathetically laments, and magnifies with ſuch monſtrous exaggeration. It is neceſſary here to remark, that theſe laws were all enacted from abſolute neceſſity: that the reiterated rebellions, treaſons, and maſſacres of the Iriſh Romaniſts were the cauſes of their enaction: that they were enacted after the Iriſh Romaniſts had been completely ſubdued in a deſperate war, waged by them againſt their Proteſtant countrymen and the Engliſh nation, and undertaken by them, under the pretence of ſupporting the title of an abdicated Monarch to the Crown; but really for the purpoſe of ſeparating Ireland from Great Britain, and allying it with France: that in this war the nation was deſolated from one extremity to the other, as it had been frequently before in ſimilar precedent rebellions: that it became evidently detrimental to the State, to permit Iriſh Romaniſts to acquire landed eſtates, giving them an intereſt in the country, which their avowed principles inevitably led them to uſe for the ſubverſion of the State: that the incurable diſpoſition of the Iriſh Romaniſts to rebellion and maſſacre was not the effect, but the cauſe, of the Popery Code; for that diſpoſition led them to the moſt flagrant, cruel, and reiterated acts of rebellion and maſſacre, before the enaction of that Code; and all other ways of preventing the repetition of ſuch horrible crimes had been found ineffectual: that this Author is guilty of the baſeſt deception, in ſtating the Popery Code to be the cauſe of Rebellions, when it was only the effect: that the parts of that Code, of which he complains, as provocations of Iriſh Romaniſts

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to Rebellion, were repealed, before the laſt Iriſh rebellion and maſſacre; and conſequently could not be the cauſe of them: and it is no unfair deduction, that the re-enaction of a Code, which, while it continued to be a part of the law of the land, prevented Rebellion, may become neceſſary for the protection of the country from ſimilar future calamities.

This Author ſtates, that, by the repealed Popery Code, *Romaniſts were excluded from Proteſtant Schools.* This is a direct falſehood: Romaniſts, ſo far from being excluded from Proteſtant ſchools, were invited to them; every Proteſtant ſchool in the kingdom was always open to them; they might have freely reſorted thither for inſtruction in all kinds of learning, without any interference of the ſchoolmaſters with their religious opinions. Schools were eſtabliſhed by Government, above half a century ago, for the education of the children of the poorer claſs of Iriſh Romaniſts, who had the privilege of ſending their children to theſe ſchools, if they thought fit, to be educated and maintained *gratis:* theſe ſchools are called *Charter Schools*, and the ſcholars are educated in the Proteſtant Religion, as it is but reaſonable that children educated at the expenſe of the State, ſhould be inſtructed in the Religion of the State. But all other ſchools were as open to Romaniſts as to Proteſtants, without any reference to, or interference with, the religious opinions of Romaniſts. The State has lately, but before this Author publiſhed his pamphlet, thought fit to erect a moſt magnificent College, at an amazing expenſe, near Dublin, for the excluſive education of Romiſh Prieſts, whether wiſely or not, I will not preſume

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ſume to determine. I ſhall have occaſion hereafter more fully to notice this foundation.

Romiſh ſtudents could not obtain degrees in the Univerſity of Dublin without taking the Oaths of Abjuration and Supremacy, previous to the repeal of the Popery Code: but by the act of the Iriſh Parliament in 1793 in favour of Romaniſts, they are rendered capable of taking degrees in that Univerſity.

Romiſh ſchoolmaſters were by the Popery Code prohibited to teach. No prohibition, at the time it was enacted, could be more reaſonable: they inculcated the rudiments of ſedition and treaſon with the utmoſt care in their ſcholars; and when proper ſchools were open for the inſtruction of Romaniſts, it was a wiſe and juſt proviſion of the State to prevent their reſort to places where they were early initiated in all the principles of diſaffection to the Government. It appeared in the laſt Rebellion, that the Romiſh ſchoolmaſters were the moſt zealous, active, and buſy propagators of all the doctrines of treaſon in the country. The propriety of prohibiting the education of Iriſh Romaniſts in France and Spain, after their various rebellions in confederacy with theſe powers, needs no argument to ſupport it.

This Author's next complaint againſt the Popery Code is, 'that it cramped the induſtry of the people, and 'armed the brother againſt the brother, and rewarded 'the ſon for betraying the father, rendered property in-'ſecure, prevented the cultivation of land, the interior 'confidence of families, and the extenſion of trade.'

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Romaniſts by that Code were forbidden to take a leaſe of land for a longer term than thirty-one years. Againſt that clauſe it is to be ſuppoſed that the accuſation of cramping the induſtry of the people is levelled. It is admitted that a larger proportion of Romaniſts is to be found among the Iriſh peaſantry, than among the other claſſes of inhabitants; and it is to be noted that this author, by the word People, means Romaniſts excluſively; for throughout his pamphlet, like other writers of his kidney, he inſinuates that the Iriſh Proteſtants are ſo inſignificant in number, that they are not worthy of being noticed as a part of the people. It is difficult to prove, though eaſy to aſſert, that a claſs of the farmers of a nation, the cultivators of the ſoil, are cramped in their induſtry, and their cultivation obſtructed, by their diſability to acquire more durable intereſts in their farms, than leaſes for thirty-one years give them; and that ſuch diſability in one claſs of farmers cramps the induſtry of the whole body. The farmers in many parts of England, the moſt ſkilful in their profeſſion of any in the world, the moſt induſtrious and thriving, have no leaſes of their farms, but are yearly tenants: in moſt parts of England long leaſes of farms are unuſual, in ſome parts unknown: a ſeven years leaſe of a farm is conſidered a ſufficient tenure, yet the farmers are remarkable for their excellent cultivation of the land, and the moſt active induſtry. It is therefore proved by experience, that diſability in farmers to acquire long tenures of their farms is no impediment to national induſtry. The law in particular complained of, never operated againſt the induſtry of the Romiſh farmers, but it operated againſt the acquiſition of permanent landed eſtates by ſuch Iriſh Romaniſts as had acquired large perſonal property, becauſe all laws againſt

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againſt ſuch acquiſition may be eaſily evaded by long leaſes. Such was the intention of the Legiſlature, and it acted wiſely, and for the benefit and ſecurity of the State (as is already ſhown), in enacting the clauſe complained of: Romaniſts were not reſtrained from exerting their induſtry, and acquiring large perſonal eſtates; but they were prohibited to expend their money in the purchaſe of lands, becauſe the ſafety of the State required ſuch prohibition: and induſtry may be, and is, exerted as ſtrenuouſly in the acquiſition of perſonal, as of real property; of which the Britiſh nation is a ſhining example. The ſophiſtry of the aſſertion, that the induſtry of a whole nation was cramped, becauſe a prohibition of the acquiſition of permanent landed eſtates by a part, and that the pooreſt part of it, exiſted, even admitting a cramping quality in the prohibition, is too glaring and contemptible to require further notice.

The next accuſation of this Author againſt the Popery Code is, *that it rewarded the ſon for betraying the father, and armed the brother againſt the brother.* The part of the Code againſt which this accuſation is levelled, is that which enacts, that the conformity to the Proteſtant Religion of the eldeſt ſon of a Romaniſt, ſeiſed in fee of a landed eſtate, ſhall render his father tenant for life, and veſt the remainder in fee in the ſon, ſubject however to the payment of real incumbrances, the juſt debts of the father, and of reaſonable portions to the younger children, at the diſcretion of the Chancellor: and the father was compellable to make ſome reaſonable allowance for the ſupport of the conforming child. And alſo that part of the Code which enacted, that the landed eſtate of a Romaniſt ſhould be gavelable among all his

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ſons, in caſe the eldeſt did not conform to the Proteſtant Religion within a year and a day after the death of his father, if then of the age of twenty-one years; or if not, within a year and a day after he had attained that age.

As to the firſt clauſe, it is conformable to the rules of juſtice, of right reaſon, and of nature. The father is bound by the law of nature to ſupport and provide for his children, and by the common law of the land, the eldeſt ſon is entitled to ſucceed his father in his landed eſtate, in caſe the father makes no diſpoſition of it in his lifetime, by conveyance or will. It is notorious that every Romiſh father would, on the conformity of his eldeſt ſon to the Proteſtant Religion (which he would conſider as apoſtacy), not only withdraw all ſupport from him during his own life, but diſinherit him: the fear of which would be an effectual bar to his conformity, be he ever ſo well inclined to it. This Code, therefore, in caſe of the ſon's conformity, required the father to do no more than what the law of nature and the common law of the land required him to do; and reſtrained him only from tranſgreſſing both, from the impulſe of a blind bigotry. The payment of his juſt debts, and the proviſion of his other children, were ſecured, with the enjoyment of his eſtate during his life. How unjuſt then is the cenſure of this author on this clauſe of the Popery Code, that it rewarded the ſon for betraying the father!

In reſpect to the gaveling clauſe, on the non-conformity of the eldeſt ſon, it is to be obſerved, that the diviſion of the landed eſtates of a deceaſed father among his ſons in equal portions, is ſo far from being counted a hardſhip

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hardſhip in many nations of Europe, that it is the law in many of them at this day. It is now the common law of the county of Kent: it was the law of our Saxon anceſtors. The laws of male Primogeniture, as they are at this day, in reſpect to the deſcent of real eſtates, were introduced by the feudal ſyſtem imported with William the Conqueror. The men of Kent inſiſted on retention of their old gavel law, and he conceded it to them. (See Blackſtone's Commentaries, vol. ii. page 84. vol. iv. page 406, octavo edition.) The law of deſcent of landed eſtates to the eldeſt, in excluſion of the other children, does not take place in reſpect to daughters; ſuch eſtates deſcend to daughters in gavelkind. Many writers on civil polity, of great eminence, maintain the opinion, that the law of Gavelkind is more advantageous to the State, than that of Primogeniture: and it is agreed by all, that the accumulation of great landed eſtates in one family, to be inherited by one perſon, an effect of the law of Primogeniture, is dangerous in a State, whether monarchical, republican, or mixt. It became neceſſary, for the reaſon I have already mentioned, to diminiſh the intereſt of Iriſh Romaniſts, derived from their enjoyment of large landed eſtates; and this law was deſigned to effect that purpoſe, with the leaſt poſſible diſadvantage to individuals, and without having recourſe to any meaſure, which could be deemed by reaſonable men either harſh or unjuſt; it was wiſely calculated to anſwer all theſe ends. If therefore it has the effect of arming brother againſt brother among Iriſh Romaniſts, it muſt be admitted that they are very prone to family hoſtility; and to ſuch propenſity, and not to the law, is ſuch hoſtility to be attributed: for the law is in itſelf fair and equal, and its juſtice vouched for

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by the uſage of ſeveral European nations, and a part of our own.

The next complaint of this Author againſt the Popery Code is, *that it rendered property inſecure.* What part of it is alluded to, as rendering property inſecure, it is hard to gueſs: perhaps it is that part of the Code, which enacts, that if a Romaniſt ſhall acquire by purchaſe an eſtate in lands, contrary to its prohibitions, ſuch eſtate ſhall become forfeitable to the firſt Proteſtant, who ſhall diſcover it, and file a bill for the recovery of it. Laws which, by the wiſdom of their proviſions, tend to enſure the execution of them, are juſtly eſteemed the moſt effectual, for the correction of thoſe evils which they are enacted to repreſs: of ſuch nature was this clauſe of the Popery Code. The State, for the reaſons already mentioned, deemed it expedient to prohibit the acquiſition of landed eſtates by Romaniſts; if therefore Romaniſts attempted to elude or defeat the effect of theſe laws, and expend their money in the purchaſe of landed eſtates, knowing the prohibition and the penalty, they had no ground to complain that their property was inſecure, becauſe ſuch eſtates became forfeited to the firſt Proteſtant diſcoverer: the forfeiture was the conſequence of their own tranſgreſſions of the law, and their attempts to evade it: the landed eſtates ſo purchaſed by them never were their lawful property; and if they riſked their property on ſuch unlawful ſpeculations, they themſelves, and not the law, were the cauſe of its inſecurity.

This Author next ſtates, *that the Popery Code prevented the extenſion of trade, and employment of the talents and genius of three-fourths of the people in civil and military affairs.* This Code

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Code must have rather tended to extend trade, than to confine it: becauſe it prevented whatever Romiſh capital there was in the kingdom from being diverted to the purchaſe of lands, and being thereby withdrawn from trade. And as to the talents and genius of two-thirds, and not of three-fourths of the people of Ireland (the moſt indigent and uninformed claſs of ſociety), being excluded from all interference with the civil or military concerns of the Britiſh Empire,—the brave, enlightened Proteſtant ſubjects of that empire, out-numbering them in the proportion of ſix to one, wanted no aſſiſtance from them. Theſe two-thirds of the Iriſh population, and their anceſtors, had for ages exerted their talents, civil and military, ſuch as they were, for the ſubverſion of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment in Church and State; and it was found policy to reject all hollow alliance of talent of ſuch Subjects, for the conduct of the national energies either in peace or war. The Britiſh Empire was, and is ſupported, *non tali auxilio, nec defenſoribus iſtis!*

All this Author's complaints againſt the Iriſh Popery Code, and his monſtrous exaggerations and falſehoods reſpecting its proviſions and effects, have been now fully canvaſſed and expoſed. And as this Code, in all the parts complained of, and acrimoniouſly miſrepreſented by him, with the view of inflaming the Iriſh Romaniſts to another Rebellion, is now repealed, his performance would not have been ſo much noticed, had not ſeveral pamphlets publiſhed in England, as the ſubſtance of Speeches reſpecting the Union, ſpoken in the Britiſh Houſes of Lords and Commons, by the moſt powerful Noblemen and Commoners in England, contained paſſages expreſſive of the opinions of the ſpeakers, that Iriſh Romaniſts

Romaniſts have been cruelly oppreſſed by their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, without any juſt reaſon to warrant ſuch ſuppoſed oppreſſions: and that the numbers and ſtrength of Iriſh Romaniſts were ſo great, when compared with thoſe of Iriſh Proteſtants, that it is neceſſary to purchaſe their conſent to an Union, at the price of the ſacrifice of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment in Ireland. As I have taken up my pen, chiefly for the purpoſe of diſabuſing ſuch Noblemen and Gentlemen, and giving them true information of the real ſtate of Ireland, with which ſome of them of the greateſt rank ſeem not only unacquainted, but, what is worſe, ſeem to have very falſe impreſſions made upon them to the diſadvantage of the Iriſh Proteſtants, I thought I could not omit refuting the ſhameleſs ſlanders of this writer, on the laws and government of Ireland for this century paſt. Such refutation is alſo conformable to my general plan, which is to expoſe, confute, and overthrow the ſyſtem of Burkiſm reſpecting Ireland; which, as theſe Speeches too evidently prove, has made no inconſiderable progreſs among the Miniſters of the Britiſh Empire; and which has its foundation deeply laid in bigotry, miſrepreſentation, falſehood, and deceit: to the operations of which ſyſtem in Ireland, directed by the Miniſters ſent thither from England, from time to time, for theſe twenty years paſt, are juſtly to be attributed the calamities which have ſo lately afflicted it; and the diſſent of a conſiderable body of Iriſh Proteſtants, from an Incorporating Union with Great Britain, from a ſuſpicion (ill-founded, as I hope and believe, yet not altogether groundleſs), that ſome dangerous invaſion of the Conſtitution of the Empire is, at leaſt, meditated, under the ſhadow and protection of that moſt ſalutary meaſure.

I ſhall

I ſhall take my leave of this Author, by a ſhort comment on the following paragraph contained in page 16 of his pamphlet: 'In Ireland, the Religion of the *people* is 'not permitted to be the Religion of the country: it is '*ſcarcely tolerated*: the Religion of a *ſmall minority* (a po-'litical phenomenon) is the eſtabliſhed Religion of the 'State.' This Author has a rare talent at condenſing a variety of falſehoods into one ſhort paſſage. *Popery enjoys the moſt complete toleration.* The Religion of one-third of the inhabitants of Ireland in number, of forty to one in property, is the eſtabliſhed Religion of the State, in Ireland; it is alſo the Religion of ſix to one in number, and of one hundred to one in property, of the population of the Britiſh Empire in Europe, of which Ireland is a limb: *it is therefore the Religion of an infinite majority of the inhabitants of the Empire reckoned both by numbers and property.* I have quoted this laſt paſſage, juſt to ſhow the audacity of the writer, and the eaſe and confidence with which he advances the moſt impudent falſehoods, and ſupports them with the moſt pitiful ſophiſtry.

It has been alleged, that Ireland has manifeſtly improved in trade and cultivation ſince the repeal of the Popery Code, and that ſuch improvement is the effect of that repeal. The improvement of Ireland from the year 1780 to the breaking out of the late Rebellion is admitted; but it is not to be attributed to the repeal of the Popery Code, but to the free trade about that time conceded to Ireland by Great Britain, and the abolition of thoſe commercial regulations, with which ſhe had before that period ſhackled Ireland; and part of the improvement is to be laid to the account of the ruin of the trade of France and

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Holland, and the rapid increaſe of that of the Britiſh Empire in general, within that period.

Strictures on a pamphlet entitled, 'Conſiderations on the State of Public Affairs in the Year 1799. Ireland.'

I fear I have waſted too much paper and ink in expoſing this Writer, his falſehoods, miſrepreſentations, ignorance, and ſophiſtry; but I have already given my reaſon for ſo doing, and the ſame reaſon is my excuſe to the public for taking notice of the pamphlet entitled, '*Conſiderations upon the State of Public Affairs in the Year* 1799. '*Ireland.*' After reading this publication, it appeared to me ſo very falſe, abuſive, abſurd, and contemptible, that I at firſt thought it degrading to any reaſonable perſon, to ſuffer it to occupy any part of his attention: my feeling was pretty much the ſame with that of Quin the player, when a celebrated actreſs once gave him a pluck by the wig in the Green-room; 'Madam,' ſaid he, turning to her, 'I would ſpit in your face, only that would be tak-'ing notice of you.' However, on further reflection, and on finding by the Speeches already mentioned, that Burkiſm had made a great progreſs among Britiſh Stateſmen, I began to perceive, that lies, the moſt monſtrous that ever were invented reſpecting the State and Government of Ireland, and its Proteſtant inhabitants, had gained credit in England, with men who had power to do infinite miſchief if they were not undeceived. I therefore thought it prudent to waſte a little more paper and ink, even on this infamous, malevolent, anonymous ſlanderer. But my Strictures on his libel ſhall be very ſhort, becauſe, in my Obſervations on the preceding Author, the reader will find all the poſitions of the Author of '*Conſiderations, &c.*' fully refuted.

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This Writer introduces himself to the public under the mask of a violent partisan of the measure of an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland; but he wears a very thin mask; for through it may be very distinctly seen the envenomed, enthusiastic Irish friar, just discharged on the nation from the mortar of a Spanish monastery: all the acrimony, all the falsehood, all the ignorance, all the bigotry, all the fury, in short, all the combustibles of so noisome a composition! He pursues the following line of attack, supported by explosions of bombs, carcasses, and stink-pots, on the Protestants of Ireland.

He gives the titles of English Colonists, Planters, and Settlers, to the Irish Protestants; and that of Natives to the Irish Romanists; and throughout asserts, that the Protestants are a British colony, and a handful only when compared with the natives. He states, 'that the Irish 'Parliament is only the representative of this handful 'of colonists, and not the representative of the natives, 'or of any part of them;' and styles it throughout, in derision, 'the *Parliament of Dublin*.' He states, that 'there 'are in this Parliament of Dublin (meaning the House of 'Commons) one hundred and sixteen placemen, out of 'three hundred of which it consists; and that all its pro-'ceedings are the effects of fear and corruption: *that it 'is elected by Englishmen, and composed of Englishmen, to the 'exclusion of the ancient occupants of the soil.*' (See page 41.) He calls all Irish Protestants 'the Grantees of Cromwell 'and William the Third, the children of their soldiers, 'and the heirs of their rapacity.' He accuses these two personages, whom he insolently ranks together, 'with 'the greatest violence and excesses, and with the ex-'actions of the most grievous confiscations and forfeitures 'from

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'from the natives.' (See page 24.) He ſtates the Proteſtants of Ireland to be 'the moſt wretched, ill-governed, and dependent colony on the face of the globe.' (See page 14.) He deſcribes the Government of Ireland 'as a perpetual military government, the Iriſh Proteſtants, as having a trembling dependance upon the Crown of England for a daily and precarious exiſtence.' (See page 5.) He thus paints the ſituation and ſentiment of the Iriſh Proteſtants and Romaniſts with reſpect to each other, when obſerving on the effects of the Britiſh Act of renunciation of the power of legiſlating for Ireland in the year 1782: 'They (the Romaniſts) knew 'that the repreſentatives of a Proteſtant colony would 'not, and could not *dare* to truſt the *immenſe* majority of 'their nation with an equality of political rights and condition: they ſaw that what they looked for, from the power 'and magnanimity of Britain, became hopeleſs from the 'hands of *ſettlers*, whoſe *weakneſs* made them *jealous* and 'afraid. They were too conſcious of their own *ſtrength*, 'too fond of their *title*, to deſire or expect that they 'ſhould be ever truſted by an *uſurper* (the Proteſtant Government), whoſe *force* they *deſpiſed*, and whoſe *right* 'they *diſputed*: they felt themſelves abandoned and 'turned over to the generoſity of a handful of proprietors; 'who were too *powerleſs* and too *timid* to be merciful: 'and if the independent Parliament had been *compelled* to 'make the conceſſion, they would have been too ſenſible of the cauſe from which it ſprung, would have 'called it *fear*, and not *liberality*, and they would have 'ſeized the proffered boon, not as ſatisfaction and content, *but as a ſtep in the ladder of their ambition, and an 'advanced poſt in the march of revenge.*' (See pages 51, 52.)

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In the very middle of this torrent of abuſe on the Proteſtants and Parliament of Ireland, and panegyric on the Romaniſts; this diſplay of the uſurpation, weakneſs, and timidity of the Proteſtants; and of the ſtrength and magnanimity of the Romaniſts, and juſtice of their claims of power, dominion, and excluſive poſſeſſion of the kingdom, is to be met the following curious ſentence, which I inſert as a ſpecimen of the Author's modeſty and conſiſtency: '*I draw a veil over every thing that can diſguſt or inflame.*' He then proceeds thus further to draw his veil: '*Though I have heard the offer of Union condemned, and the ſalvation of a few aſſerted to depend upon the extirpation of the majority: that the Catholics muſt be extinguiſhed, and put out: that not a ſingle Rohilla of them all can be left with impunity: though I have heard ſuch ſanguinary doctrines pollute the walls of a Houſe of Parliament.*' (See pages 63, 64.)

This Author then takes care to diſtinguiſh the United Iriſhmen, whoſe barbarities were too notorious to be denied, or openly palliated, from the Iriſh Romaniſts; and to lay to the charge of the United Iriſhmen, as diſtinct from the Romaniſts, the guilt of the late Rebellion; but even here he cannot forbear falling furiouſly on the Proteſtants of Ireland for their reſiſtance to this Rebellion, and their audacity in preſuming to defend their lives and properties from the Romiſh Rebels, and in attempting to puniſh them for the crimes they had committed. The late *Maſſacre and Rebellion*, with all due tenderneſs for the Romiſh inſurgents, he calls a *Civil War*. 'I confeſs,' ſays he, 'I fear there are among our ſettlers in Ireland 'ſome unrelenting minds, who expect and prefer another 'concluſion of the conteſt, and very different from ours: '*the horrible principle which has been diſcloſed even in Eng-*

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'*land* (alluding to the Rohilla principle) induces me very 'ſtrongly to apprehend, that there is no obſtacle in a part 'of the Colony more hoſtile and formidable to the pro-'jected Union, than the hope to be enabled, by the arms 'and treaſure of the mother-country, to obtain ſuch de-'cided and definitive ſucceſs in the *Civil War*, as to en-'able their independent Parliament to attaint and confiſ-'cate the remaining part of the property of Ireland, not 'actually in the occupation of that Colony.' Then, after expreſſing his hope, that His Majeſty will never give the Royal aſſent to bills for the attainder of the Iriſh Rebels, or confiſcation of their property, and conſequently that, if vanquiſhed, they will eſcape all puniſhment; he proceeds thus further to cover with his *veil*, every thing that can diſguſt Iriſh Proteſtants, or inflame Iriſh Romaniſts: 'If 'the only obſtacle to Union in the boſom of our Colony, 'is this criminal and flagitious hope, of deriving from our 'victories an unjuſt and miſerable ſucceſs of ſlavery and 'plunder; I am fearful that it is impoſſible to aſſign, 'after every allowance for paſſion and for prejudice, a 'better or more pardonable plea, for the refuſal or the 'ſilence of the Catholic. *Revenge* and the hope of prey 'are his undiſguiſed motives, and he is only ſo far *leſs* ab-'ſurd, or *leſs* guilty than the coloniſt I have deſcribed, *as* '*he believes himſelf to have a right, according to the doctrines* '*of Impreſcriptibility, to poſſeſs the lands which no time, no* '*length of poſſeſſion can alienate, no acquieſcence transfer.*' (See pages from 63 to 69.)

Under pretence of condemning the infidelity of the French Republicans, he introduces a panegyric on the Iriſh Romiſh Biſhops; deſcribing them, *as men of learning*,

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ing, humanity, and piety (page 71): and under pretence of reconciling Iriſh Romaniſts to the meaſure of an Union, he takes an occaſion of paſſing the higheſt encomiums on the whole party; not forgetting, by way of praiſing their patience and forbearance, to ſtate, 'that they have been 'moſt grievouſly oppreſſed by the Colony; that their ap-'petite for revenge, and their exertions in the purſuit of it '(that is, their Rebellions), were juſtifiable;' but then he *meekly* exhorts them to ſacrifice their *revenge*, 'becauſe it 'is *almoſt ſatiated* in ſeas of *Civil blood:* that a great change 'is propounded to them, and they are called to the rights 'of citizenſhip by the projected Union;' and *piouſly* aſks the clerical Iriſh Romaniſt, '*will he defer to unfurl the* '*ſacred banner*, and to call back the deluded Rebel from 'the colours of Infidelity?' that is, from his alliance with France, 'which nation,' he ſays, 'knows the cruel power 'of artifice and deſign *upon the devout and agitated boſom* '*of poor and honeſt ignorance, ſacrificing all things, ſuffering* '*all things, and daring all things, in the cauſe ſuppoſed of* '*Religion.*' (See from page 72 to 76.) The author then ſtates, 'that England cannot ſupport her Colony in its 'preſent ſtate; that it were better for England, that her 'Colony and the whole iſland of Ireland were precipitated 'to the bottom of the ſea, or blotted from the map, and 'expunged from the liſt of nations, than that ſhe ſhould 'remain a diverſion of her power and force, an arſenal of 'attack and injury, and a devouring gulf of her blood 'and reſources in the preſent war.' (See page 79.) He then aſſerts, 'that *there are three millions of wretched na-*'*tives*, whom the Iriſh Proteſtant cannot oppreſs but by 'the arms of England, nor deliver but with his own 'ruin'. (See page 84.) 'That the natives have been always

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'oppreſſed by the Colony, and that they have no hopes of 'reprieve and ſafety, but in the grant of *Complete Eman-* 'cipation: that the Proteſtant Government of Ireland is 'veſted in a repreſentative body, the majority of which 'are placemen and aſpirants of the Law, and in a factious 'ariſtocracy which outweighs even corruption.' (See pages 88, 89.) 'That the natives or Catholics' (for he ſometimes calls the Iriſh Romaniſts by the one name, ſometimes by the other; but the Proteſtants invariably Coloniſts, Planters and Settlers) 'cannot expect eman- 'cipation from the *Parliament of Dublin*. Will a handful 'of men emancipate a multitude? Will an armed regi- 'ment liberate a diſarmed hoſt? It is a myſtery not very 'profound, that *Fear* is a *coward*, that *Weakneſs* cannot 'confide, and that *Injury* never pardons.'—'The Par- 'liament of Ireland' (here the Author nodded, he meant the Parliament of Dublin), 'dares not ſet him (the Ca- 'tholic) free. It is the Imperial Parliament, it is the 'power, greatneſs, and ſuperiority of England which alone 'can break *his chains*, or contain him in the firſt tranſ- 'ports of *Liberty*. Will the native refuſe the boon (the 'Union) at the end *of ſix centuries of calamity, of fruitleſs 'ſtruggles, and tenacious oppreſſion?*' (See page 91.) Then ſtill under the pretence of recommending the Union, he proceeds to throw the covering of his veil over every thing that can diſguſt or inflame, by the following in- vective on the Colony: 'The Union is neceſſary, becauſe 'the alternative that remains, is ſuch as nature ſickens 'at, as humanity rejects, as inſtinct flies from, becauſe 'it is rebellion and military government, becauſe it is 'impriſonment, torture, and ſudden execution: becauſe 'it is armed proſecutors and juries of ſoldiers, with *their 'Serjeants learned in the Law*: (witty rogue!) becauſe it

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'is the curfew and the paſſport bill; becauſe it is in-
'vaſion, maſſacre, rape, and pillage, and conflagration;
'becauſe it is the wretcheſeſt and moſt degrading condi-
'tion of humanity, the moſt diſguſting ſeries of miſery
'and guilt, the blackeſt and moſt lengthened ſcene and
'proceſſion of crimes and ſufferings, that ever humbled
'or afflicted man.' (See pages 93, 94.)

He then proceeds to ſtate a dilemma to the Iriſh Proteſtant: *you muſt either agree to an Union, or grant Emancipation to the Romaniſts*; and ſhows that the laſt horn will gore him to death, the firſt only ſlightly wound him: 'if,' ſays he, 'you determine on the laſt meaſure, you receive 'a Catholic Parliament, you are ruined if the doors of 'Parliament are opened to a Catholic majority, if you 'divide your power with three millions of malcontents.' (See pages 94, 95.) Admitting here, that though the Romaniſts ſhall in his ſenſe be emancipated, yet they will remain malcontents; and that if they are admitted into Parliament, they will ſoon form the majority.

His laſt argument to induce Iriſh Romaniſts to agree to an Union is, that they will be admitted to ſeats in the Imperial Parliament; that is, as he expreſſes it, they will be *completely emancipated.*

I have now laboured through this moſt diſguſting performance, and laid before the reader an epitome of the doctrines contained in it in the language of the author. I now proceed to make a few ſhort remarks on it, juſt to point out to the Britiſh reader its falſehoods and abſurdity: to ſhow that the whole tenor of it militates againſt its pretended purpoſe; and that the Author himſelf meant it as

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a juſtification of the recent and all former Rebellions of the Iriſh Romaniſts, of all their maſſacres, robberies, and conflagrations; as a vehicle of all manner of invective and ſlander againſt the Iriſh Proteſtants, and the Engliſh Government in Ireland; and as a provocative to the Iriſh Romaniſts to recommence hoſtilities againſt their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, and ſtimulate them to revenge and murder.

I will begin with making an obſervation or two, on his ſtyling Iriſh Proteſtants Coloniſts, and Iriſh Romaniſts Natives. His firſt view in diſtinguiſhing the inhabitants of Ireland into theſe two claſſes, was, that he might indulge the rancour of an Iriſh Romaniſt againſt Iriſh Proteſtants by the more unbridled abuſe, from conviction that Engliſh Proteſtants would not attend patiently to ſuch reviling of their fellow Proteſtants, under the title of Proteſtants, and for no other cauſe than their being Proteſtants. The Americans, as was the general opinion, had not conducted themſelves with gratitude towards the mother country, and he hoped to divert the reſentment of the inhabitants of Great Britain againſt the American coloniſts for their ſeceſſion, on the heads of the Iriſh Proteſtants; by ſtyling them Coloniſts, and repreſenting that their late partial rejection of an Incorporating Union with Great Britain was a plain proof, that they intended to follow the example of the American coloniſts, and break off all connexion with Great Britain. Another and his principal purpoſe was, to juſtify the Iriſh rebellions and maſſacres, and to induce the Britiſh nation to believe, that they were only the ſtruggles of the oppreſſed natives of Ireland, to free themſelves from the tyranny of a handful of coloniſts, wrongful intruders on their ſoil and property, and rapacious plunderers;

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plunderers; and thereby to induce Great Britain to join them in cruſhing ſo flagitious, ſo contemptible, and ſo feeble a band of monopoliſts; who, though unable to maintain their ill-gotten poſſeſſions againſt the natives, the right owners, without the aſſiſtance of Great Britain, yet had the audacity to reject an Incorporating Union. The Writer knew that the Britiſh nation could not be led into a co-operation with Iriſh Romaniſts, in ſo wicked a ſcheme as the deſtruction of the Proteſtants of Ireland, but by artifice and cunning: he hoped to make ſuch a ſcheme palatable, and to veil it from the eyes of the Britiſh nation at large, by the ſubſtitution of the words *Natives* and *Coloniſts*, in the place of *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants*.

That he is himſelf an Iriſh Romaniſt is notorious from many paſſages in his pamphlet, though he endeavours, awkwardly, to conceal it; as ſome of his countrymen in converſation attempt, ludicrouſly enough, to paſs themſelves for natives of Britain, by an affected imitation of Engliſh provincial tones, and muzzling the Iriſh brogue. And one of his main purpoſes is, to excite the Iriſh Romaniſts to a new rebellion and maſſacre, by deſcribing the Iriſh Proteſtants as a handful of coloniſts, outcaſts from their own country, and deſperate adventurers, the proper objects of the vengeance of the natives; and this purpoſe he ſo little conceals, that he has in ſeveral paſſages repreſented, in expreſs terms, the propenſity of Iriſh Romaniſts to *revenge*, that is, to rebellion, as very juſtifiable. If the Britiſh nation could be induced by ſuch baſe arts to concur in the deſtruction of the Iriſh Proteſtants (which could be effected by the power of Britain confederated with the maſs of Iriſh Romaniſts), this Writer well knew, that the ſure foundation of Britiſh influence and power

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In Ireland would be uprooted; and, as he well knew the irreconcilable hoſtility of the Iriſh Romaniſts to a Proteſtant Britiſh Government, he was convinced that ſuch an event as the deſtruction of the Iriſh Proteſtants would be immediately followed by an attempt of the Iriſh Romaniſts to ſeparate themſelves, with the aſſiſtance of France (whoſe politics he fraudulently pretends to reprobate), from Great Britain, and to eſtabliſh an independent Romiſh Republic in Ireland; and I have already ſhown that this is the avowed intention of the whole Romiſh party in that kingdom. Such is the fraud of diſtinguiſhing the inhabitants of Ireland into *Coloniſts* and *Natives*, rather than into *Proteſtants* and *Romaniſts!* I will now ſhow the falſehood and abſurdity of the diſtinction.

Geraldus Cambrenſis, otherwiſe Gerald Barry (who was, in the reign of King Henry the Second, Biſhop of St. David's in Wales, Hiſtoriographer and Secretary to Henry, a man, for that age, of great learning, and the perſon whom he ſent into Ireland with his ſon John, when he created him King of Ireland), Roger Hoveden, Matthew Paris, and all the ancient Engliſh hiſtorians, agree in giving the following account of the acquiſition of Ireland by the Engliſh Monarchs: In the reign of Henry the Second, Ireland was divided into certain *ſuffragan kingdoms* (if I may ſo call them), ſubject to one Monarch, as principal King or Emperor, to whom the other Kings paid much the ſame homage as the German Electors at preſent to his Imperial Majeſty. Inteſtine wars drove one of theſe petty Kings from his own country: he fled into England, and implored the aſſiſtance of Henry to enable him to regain his territories.

Henry,

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Henry, after ſending ſome adventurers before him to ſmooth the way, went into Ireland at the head of a conſiderable army, in the year 1172, above ſix hundred years ago. The Iriſh nation, worried by continual inteſtine war, univerſally received him as a deliverer. All the Reguli and Chiefs of the nation, with the chief Monarch himſelf, threw their crowns at his feet: they, with the whole body of the Biſhops and Clergy, elected him King or Lord of the whole iſland, and ſwore allegiance to him. He accepted the dominion, and agreed with them, *that they ſhould enjoy the like liberties and immunities, and be governed by the ſame mild laws, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, as the people of England.* Henry afterwards, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, created his ſon John, under the ſtyle and title of Lord of Ireland, King of that country; for he thereby enjoyed all manner of kingly juriſdiction, pre-eminence, and authority. Richard the Firſt, eldeſt brother of John, afterwards died without iſſue, on which event John became King of England, and the ſovereignty of the two nations became again veſted in the ſame perſon. Henry the Third, ſon of John, in November 1216, gave a Magna Charta to Ireland, word for word the ſame as that which he eight years afterwards granted to his kingdom of England, ſave the neceſſary alterations in the names of places. By the Iriſh Statute of the 33d of Henry the Eighth, chap. 1, the King's ſtyle of Lord of Ireland was changed to that of King, becauſe, as the preamble recites, '*the King, under the ſtyle and title of Lord of Ireland, enjoyed all manner of kingly juriſdiction, pre-eminence, and authority in Ireland, belonging to the imperial ſtate and majeſty of a King*;' and ſo the King's ſtyle has remained ever ſince. Thus it is plain that all the inhabitants of Ireland,

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Ireland, whether aboriginals, or of Engliſh race, deſcended from anceſtors who from time to time, ſince that kingdom was annexed to the Engliſh Crown, ſettled in Ireland; are equally the King's ſubjects, and equally entitled to every benefit of the Britiſh Conſtitution, except ſuch of them as render themſelves liable to particular reſtraints, by profeſſing doctrines inimical to the State.

Mr. Molyneux, in his celebrated '*State of Ireland*,' has the following obſervation on this abſurd poſition, that Ireland is to be conſidered as a Britiſh Colony:—'The laſt thing I ſhall take notice of, that ſome raiſe 'againſt us, is, that Ireland is to be looked upon only 'as a colony from England; and therefore as the Roman 'colonies were ſubject to and bound by the laws made 'by the Senate at Rome, ſo ought Ireland by thoſe made 'by the great Council at Weſtminſter. Of all the ob'jections raiſed againſt us, I take this to be the moſt ex'travagant: it ſeems not to have the leaſt foundation or 'colour from reaſon or record. Does it not manifeſtly 'appear by the Conſtitution of Ireland, that it is a com'plete kingdom within itſelf? Do not the Kings of 'England bear the ſtyle of Ireland amongſt the reſt of 'their kingdoms? Is this agreeable to the nature of 'a colony? Do they uſe the title of Kings of Virginia, 'New England, or Maryland? Was not Ireland given 'by Henry the Second, in a Parliament at Oxford, to 'his ſon John, and made thereby an abſolute kingdom, 'ſeparate and wholly independent on England, till they 'both came united again in him, after the death of his 'brother Richard without iſſue? Have not multitudes 'of Acts of Parliament, both in England and Ireland, 'declared

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'declared Ireland a complete kingdom? Is not Ireland 'ſtyled in them all, the Kingdom or Realm of Ireland? 'Do theſe names agree to a colony? Have we not a 'Parliament and Courts of Judicature? Do theſe things 'agree with a colony? This, on all hands, involves ſo 'many abſurdities, that I think it deſerves nothing more 'of our conſideration.' See Molyneux's State of Ireland, printed by Long, Dublin, 1749. P. 52, 53.

Since I have quoted this celebrated tract, I hope I ſhall be excuſed for a ſhort digreſſion here, to ſhow by another quotation from it, that Mr. Molyneux, the famous champion for the independence of the Iriſh Legiſlature on that of England, was notwithſtanding a firm friend to an Incorporating Union of the two Kingdoms. In page 37 he has the following paſſage, which is fraudulently omitted in a ſubſequent edition printed in 1782: 'If, from theſe laſt-mentioned records, it be concluded 'that the Parliament of England may bind Ireland, it 'muſt alſo be allowed that the people of Ireland ought 'to have their Repreſentatives in the Parliament of Eng-'land; and this I believe we would be willing enough 'to embrace, *but this is a happineſs we can hardly hope for.*' How ſmall the hopes of the Iriſh nation at the time Mr. Molyneux wrote, were, of their being admitted to the benefits clearly reſulting from an Incorporating Union, may be conjectured from what happened ſoon after the acceſſion of Queen Anne. The Iriſh Houſe of Peers at that time petitioned the Crown to promote ſuch an Incorporating Union; but the Engliſh Miniſters ſcornfully rejected the application. Thank Heaven! ſound ſenſe and reaſon have ſince triumphed over ſuch abſurd prejudices.

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To return from my digreſſion. I truſt I have clearly proved, that the Iriſh nation neither is, nor can be conſidered as, a Britiſh colony; and I have before, in accounting for the ſanguinary diſpoſition of Iriſh Romaniſts to their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, ſhown, that no ſuch diſtinction as that of Native and Coloniſt does or can ſubſiſt between the preſent inhabitants of Ireland; and that the only general diſtinction between them is, that of Proteſtant and Romaniſt,—a diſtinction, which I hope will be extinguiſhed only by the converſion of ſo large a portion of our population to the Proteſtant Faith. I ſhall therefore, in the following remarks on this abominable libel, and in extracting and expelling the virus of it, ſubſtitute the word *Proteſtant* and *Romaniſt* for the words *Coloniſt* and *Native*.

The Author, in the firſt place, ſtates, that the Iriſh Proteſtants, when compared with the Romaniſts, are but a handful. I have already expoſed the falſity of this aſſertion, both as to number and property. (See Appendix, No. 1.) He aſſerts that the Iriſh Parliament (called by him ſneeringly the Parliament of Dublin) is not the Repreſentative of the Nation, but of this handful of Proteſtants. Iriſh Romaniſts were enabled, by the Act of 1793, already mentioned, to vote at the elections of Members of Parliament, and were admitted to the exerciſe of that franchiſe at the election of the preſent Iriſh Commons. By the Britiſh Conſtitution, the election of the Commons is made by the people in proportion to their property, not their numbers. I have already ſhown, that of the property of the nation, thirty-nine parts out of forty are in the hands of Iriſh Proteſtants; ſo that if the Act of 1793 had not paſſed, and if the preſent

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preſent Commons had been elected by the Proteſtants alone, it would be a falſehood to ſtate, that they were not the legitimate Repreſentatives of the People: they would be the Repreſentatives of thirty-nine parts out of forty of the People, reckoned by their property; the remaining fortieth part of the property being in the hands of perſons diſqualified from voting by the laws of the Society, founded in wiſdom and juſtice. But even that fortieth part voted on the election of the preſent Repreſentatives. In fact, the Commons of Ireland are elected by a much greater proportion of the property of the Iriſh nation, than the Commons of Great Britain by that of the property of the Britiſh nation, the relative wealth and population of the two nations duly conſidered: ſo that this Author's aſſertion, that the preſent Iriſh Commons are not the Repreſentatives of the Nation in general, but of a handful of Proteſtants, is as falſe as moſt of his other aſſertions.

Further to diſgrace and vilify the Iriſh Parliament, and to excite and provoke Iriſh Romaniſts to rebellion and murder, and with no other poſſible deſign, he ſtates, *that the Iriſh Houſe of Commons is elected by Engliſhmen, and compoſed of Engliſhmen, to the excluſion of the ancient occupants of the ſoil.* Here, notwithſtanding his flimſy diſguiſe, the whole traitorous Iriſh Romaniſt burſts forth in full deformity! It can be hardly alleged that ſuch an aſſertion was intended to provoke the enmity of the Engliſh Nation againſt the Iriſh Parliament. No, no: it is the true genuine ſentiment of all Iriſh Romaniſts, who call all Proteſtants in their language *Saſonaghs*, that is, Engliſhmen: the Iriſh Parliament are *Proteſtants*, and therefore, in their vocabulary, *Engliſhmen*. It is the Romiſh

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Romiſh war-whoop in Ireland againſt their Proteſtant countrymen: it marks them out for ſlaughter, as the cry of Mad dog! is the ſignal for the deſtruction of the canine ſpecies. It is the very ſame ſentiment contained in the Letter of Theobald Wolfe Tone, Founder of the Society of United Iriſhmen, and the celebrated Agent of the Iriſh Romaniſts, to his aſſociated Conſpirators in Belfaſt, in the year 1791. It is as follows: 'We have no na-'tional Government: *we are ruled by Engliſhmen, and the 'ſervants of Engliſhmen*, filled, as to commerce and po-'litics, with the ſhort-ſighted and ignorant prejudices of 'their country.' (See Appendix, No. 2, to the Report of the Secret Committee of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, 1798.)

This abuſe and degradation of the Iriſh Parliament militate directly againſt the pretended ſcope of the pamphlet, which is, to induce the Iriſh nation to agree to an Incorporating Union with Great Britain, and which can be accompliſhed in a lawful peaceable way, not otherwiſe than by the concurrence of the Parliaments of the two countries in the meaſure; and this Writer not only inſinuates, but openly aſſerts and proclaims, that the Iriſh Parliament is not the Repreſentative of the Iriſh Nation, that is, is not a Parliament, and is therefore incompetent to contract or agree for the Iriſh Nation. Here then his maſk falls entirely off, and his true purpoſe appears, which is, to inflame the Iriſh Romaniſts to riſe up againſt and deſtroy a band of Engliſh Uſurpers, pretending to be their Repreſentatives, and actually aſſuming the government of the country. He calls this band, in many places, Robbers and Plunderers; and tells the Iriſh Romaniſts, that the weakneſs of this band makes them jealous

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jealous and afraid of them; and that they cannot expect to be emancipated or truſted by ſuch Uſurpers, whoſe force they deſpiſe; and that the Iriſh Proteſtants have a trembling dependance on Great Britain for a daily and precarious exiſtence.

In the next place, he takes care to inculcate the doctrine of the baſeneſs and corruption of this band of Engliſh Uſurpers, the Iriſh Commons: he ſtates, with his accuſtomed diſregard, and even contempt of truth, that out of the whole number, being three hundred, there are one hundred and ſixteen Placemen, and ſeventy Aſpirants of the Law. The number of practiſing Barriſters in the Houſe of Commons does not amount to more than thirty-five, including all the Law Officers of the Crown, and many of theſe are Placemen; and there are not more Placemen, in proportion to their numbers, in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons than in the Britiſh. In my 'Anſwer 'to Mr. Grattan's Addreſs to the Citizens of Dublin,' I have fully diſcuſſed the queſtion, whether the conferring places of truſt and emolument on Members of the Houſe of Commons by the Crown, be an improper or unconſtitutional exerciſe of the prerogative; and I truſt I have proved that it is not: for I have ſhown, firſt, that the Crown cannot ſelect perſons to fill places of truſt out of any other body with ſo much propriety; nay more, that the Crown is under the neceſſity of employing Members of the Houſe of Commons as its ſervants, in executing the public buſineſs of the nation, in preference to the members of any other body: and, in the next place, I have ſhown, that the influence of the Crown in the Houſe of Commons, derived from the patronage of ſuch places, is a conſtitutional influence; that the frame of our

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our Government could not ſubſiſt without it; and that, in many caſes of political economy, theory muſt bend a little to practice. But it is worth obſerving, how inconſiſtent this Author's accuſation of corruption againſt the Iriſh Houſe of Commons is, with that part of its conduct which he pretends has raiſed all his indignation againſt it; that is, its rejection of the propoſal on the part of Great Britain of an Incorporating Union of the two nations, notwithſtanding this propoſal was ſupported in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons by the whole weight and influence of the Adminiſtration, and by ſeveral honeſt and able Senators, who were not Placemen; yet it was rejected. It was ſupported by one hundred and eight Members only. What became then of the one hundred and ſixteen Placemen? It is plain that the alleged corruption of the Members of that Houſe, by the diſpoſition of places among them, had not the effect of warping them to vote contrary to their opinions. In truth, the meaſure was too precipitately urged; due time was not afforded for the cool and ſerious conſideration of the great and ſubſtantial merit of ſo important a project; it was very improvidently ſought to be carried by a coup de main: but I truſt and firmly expect that the meaſure will meet with a very different reception in the enſuing ſeſſion; and that time and reflection, and the good ſenſe of the Commons, though indignant at the unjuſt accuſation of corruption, will enſure its ſucceſs.

The author's next abuſe of the Iriſh Proteſtants, as grantees of Cromwell and William the Third, as the children of their ſoldiers and the heirs of their rapacity, again betrays the Iriſh Romaniſt, whoſe heart is goaded by the œſtrum of revenge. As the firſt effuſion of his rancour,

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rancour, he places our illuſtrious Deliverer, in part the Founder, or at leaſt the Reſtorer, of our preſent glorious Conſtitution, in the ſame rank with the deſperate Regicide. Next he vents his abuſe on all Iriſh Proteſtants, ſtating them to be the children of the ſoldiers of theſe two Commanders, and the heirs of their rapacity. He reprobates all the forfeitures and confiſcations of the Iriſh Traitors, which took place after the ſuppreſſion of two Iriſh Rebellions; the one in the reign of King Charles the Firſt, the other in that of William and Mary. Theſe forfeitures and confiſcations are the conſtant themes of abuſive Romiſh declamation in Ireland. The whole party load the memory of Cromwell, as well as of King William, with every ſpecies of vituperation: this ſnarling cur, therefore, only runs on the trail of his growling precurſors, and joins in the conſtant cry of his own pack, when he opens againſt the Regicide and the Monarch; but it is not improper to examine the grounds of his acrimonious complaints.

The Engliſh Monarchs, ſucceſſors of Henry the Second, inherited great dominions in France. The maintenance of their power on the continent engroſſed their attention, drained their treaſures, and found conſtant employment for their armies. Hence the Government of Ireland, till the reign of Elizabeth, was much neglected. The Iriſh natives, ſcared at the dawn of civilization, preferred the gloom of their own foreſts and moraſſes to the ſunſhine of cultivation and improvement. The great Engliſh Lords, who became entitled to vaſt tracts of land in Ireland, ſuch as the Earl of Chepſtow, otherwiſe Strongbow, who, by marriage with the only daughter and child of the provincial

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vincial King of Leinſter, acquired vaſt poſſeſſions in that province, did not take the proper care to improve the country. They brought over with them to Ireland many of their friends and vaſſals: they by degrees mixed with the native Iriſh, and adopted their barbarous cuſtoms. When the great civil war broke out in England between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter, moſt of the chiefs of the great Engliſh families in Ireland joined the contending parties, and went over to England with their vaſſals and retainers. The barbarous Iriſh joined the degenerate Engliſh mixed with them, took the advantage of the weakneſs of the Government, the natural effect of the migration of its ſupporters: they rebelled, and ſeized on nearly three-fourths of the kingdom, which continued in a lawleſs barbarous ſtate till the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth. That great Princeſs, after a long and expenſive war, reduced to obedience all the Iriſh Rebels, but died before ſhe could reap the harveſt of her victories. Her ſucceſſor, James the Firſt, laboured with great activity and zeal on the ſettlement and civilization of the whole kingdom. He divided the lands forfeited by Rebellion, in ſome places into three parts; two of which parts he diſtributed among the ancient poſſeſſors, whether native Iriſh or degenerate Engliſh; the remaining third he beſtowed on new ſettlers from Scotland and England. In other places, he diſtributed half of theſe lands to the old poſſeſſors, the other half to new ſettlers. He divided ſuch parts of the kingdom as had, in the manner before mentioned, been ſeized on and occupied by the natives and degenerate Engliſh, into counties. In theſe new, or rather revived counties, he erected towns and created boroughs: he inſtituted a regular Parliament, the Members of the Houſe of Commons of which were elected by

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by the old poſſeſſors and the new ſettlers without diſtinction, in proportion to their properties, throughout the whole nation. Romaniſts and Proteſtants ſat indiſcriminately in the Houſes of Lords and Commons. None were excluded by any Teſt Oaths whatſoever: the only oath required was the Oath of Allegiance. Every meaſure which human wiſdom could deviſe was purſued, as well in the reign of James as in that of his ſucceſſor Charles, to civilize and improve the country. The inhabitants, without diſtinction, were invited to all the comforts and all the benefits of civiliſation and a well-regulated Government. The nation aſſumed a different appearance from that it had worn for a ſeries of ages; and a complete fuſion of all deſcriptions of Iriſh inhabitants would have been then effected with rapidity, were it not for the unhappy differences on the ſcore of Religion. The intolerant, unſocial doctrines of Popery, irreconcilable to the Proteſtant inſtitutions, had taken deep root in the minds of the majority of the inhabitants; and from thence ſprung the moſt barbarous and moſt unprovoked Rebellion of Iriſh Romaniſts recorded in hiſtory. This Rebellion, which broke out in the year 1641, cannot be palliated, as an Inſurrection of oppreſſed Natives againſt uſurping Coloniſts: for the beſt diſciplined, beſt provided, and moſt numerous army of the Inſurgents, was compoſed of the inhabitants of the Engliſh Pale; a part of Ireland which was peopled by Engliſh ſettlers, who for ages before had continued faithful to the Engliſh Crown, and till that period had never intermixed by marriage, or any ſort of connexion, with the native Iriſh. It was commanded by General Preſton, brother of the then Lord Gormanſtown. It was an avowed Rebellion of Iriſh Romaniſts, undertaken by

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by them for the purpoſe of extirpating Iriſh Proteſtants of all deſcriptions, and ſevering themſelves from England, at that time diſtracted by civil commotions. The Rebels in Munſter were commanded by Lord Mountgarret, and other Noblemen and Gentlemen, all, or moſt of them, of the old Engliſh race. During the firſt year of this Rebellion, the Rebels murdered, at the loweſt calculation, near forty thouſand Iriſh Proteſtants, men, women, and children, in cold blood: many of them they put to death by the moſt excruciating tortures. Such of the Proteſtants as eſcaped from the firſt exploſion of the Rebellion, which burſt ſuddenly and unexpectedly like a thunder-ſtorm on their heads, flew to arms; and for a ſpace of ten years and upwards, with very little aſſiſtance from England, maintained a cruel and deſtructive, though unequal war, with the Rebels, and protected the ſurviving Loyalty of the nation, as well from the Republican Fanatics of that age, as from theſe Romiſh Traitors, who frequently, in the courſe of the Rebellion, joined the Republicans, and invariably adopted ſuch meaſures as they thought would moſt conduce to their ends,—the Eſtabliſhment of Popery, the Extirpation of Proteſtants, and the Separation of Ireland from the Britiſh Crown. At one period of this Rebellion, the chief Traitors propoſed a treaty with the then Marquis, afterwards Duke of Ormond, the King's Lieutenant in Ireland; to which propoſal he was obliged, by the neceſſity of His Majeſty's affairs, to accede. The treaty was concluded, and the Marquis, with a part of the Royal Army, was inveigled by the Rebels to Kilkenny, the place of meeting of what they ſtyled the General Aſſembly of the Catholics of Ireland, much of the ſame nature with the late Romiſh Convention which aſſembled

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in Dublin. The Rebels moſt perfidiouſly, at the inſtance of the Pope's Nuncio, broke the treaty; and two of their armies, commanded by Generals Preſton and O'Neil, marched to ſurpriſe the Marquis, to intercept him in his retreat to Dublin, and to cut off his troops. They were very near ſucceeding in their enterpriſe, the Marquis eſcaping with great difficulty. In ſhort, they contributed full as much as the Scotch Covenanters, to the final ſucceſs of the Republicans in England, and the ſubverſion of the Monarchy. But the Almighty ſaw their wickedneſs and perfidy, and puniſhed them by the hands of their own aſſociates in rebellion and murder. The Engliſh Republicans, having made themſelves maſters of England, ſent over an army under Cromwell to reduce them to obedience, not to their lawful Sovereign, but to the newly-erected Engliſh Republic; and to revenge the blood of the Proteſtants of Ireland ſo inhumanly ſpilled by them. In one ſhort campaign he completely routed and diſperſed their murdering, daſtardly bands. Such of them as eſcaped the ſword, he drove out of the nation or hanged, parcelled out their landed property, juſtly forfeited by their Rebellion, among the ſurviving Iriſh Proteſtants, who had been robbed by them; his own officers and ſoldiers, in lieu of their pay; and men who had ſubſcribed large ſums of money to defray the expenſes of his expedition, who were ſtyled Adventurers. On the reſtoration of Monarchy, this diviſion of the lands ſo juſtly forfeited to the Crown was reviſed, and its juſtice and propriety ſtrictly examined and inquired into, by Commiſſioners duly appointed for that purpoſe. In every caſe in which it appeared that the lands of an innocent perſon were comprized in the diviſion, they were reſtored to him or his heir; and the

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perſon in conſequence diſpoſſeſſed was awarded a compenſation, called a Repriſal; and the titles of all to the lands juſtly forfeited were eſtabliſhed and confirmed by two Acts of the Iriſh Parliament, entitled, the Acts of Settlement and Explanation.

The complaint of this Romiſh Writer of the confiſcations by King William is ſtill more unjuſt. The Iriſh Romaniſts, after the acceſſion of William and Mary, roſe in rebellion in a maſs. Their views were the very ſame as in the Rebellion of 1641,—the eſtabliſhment of Popery, and Separation from England. Their apparent attachment to King James the Second aroſe from intereſted views: they hoped by his means to procure powerful aſſiſtance from the Court of France, and they conſidered him only as an engine auxiliary to their real deſigns. When that Rebellion was finally ſuppreſſed by the ſurrender of Limerick in the year 1691, one of the conditions ſtipulated on behalf of the Romaniſts was, that ſuch of them as choſe to remain in their own country, rather than repair to France and enter into the ſervice of that hoſtile nation, ſhould, on their taking the Oath of Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, preſerve their eſtates diſcharged of forfeiture and confiſcation on account of their rebellion. A few of them choſe to ſtay at home, and they preſerved their eſtates: the reſt went to France, and thereby voluntarily ſubmitted their eſtates to forfeiture; which eſtates were afterwards partly ſold for the public benefit, and partly granted by the Crown to perſons who had loyally ſerved it in ſuch critical times. The complaints, therefore, of this Romiſh Writer, of the forfeitures and confiſcations in the times of Cromwell and King William, amount to this;

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this; that the confiscation and forfeiture of the property of Rebels, the most sanguinary and barbarous whole crimes ever blotted and defaced the page of history, are unjust; amount to robbery and plunder, exercised by rapacious usurpers, though warranted by the known law of the land in all ages; and consequently that the law of the land warrants and patronizes robbery, plunder, and rapacity; and that all loyal subjects are robbers and plunderers. And in conformity with this doctrine, he proceeds to reprobate all punishment of the late Irish Rebels by confiscation and forfeiture.

This Romish Writer asserts, that Irish Protestants have a trembling dependance on the English nation for their existence; and dwells on their weakness, timidity, and cruelty, and on the irresistible strength, numbers, and courage of the present race of Irish Romanists, with exultation and delight; intimating, that if the English nation will remain neuter, the Irish Romanists will instantly extirpate the Irish Protestants, who at present, by the aid of England, keep them in *chains*. It is therefore proper to examine whether Irish Romanists be in a state of oppression and slavery, and kept in *chains* by their Protestant countrymen. By the laws of Ireland at present, the Romanists enjoy more real political liberty, and better security for their lives and properties, than the most favoured subjects of any foreign State in the known world. They elect their Representatives in Parliament; in which Parliament, together with the King, the supreme authority of the State is vested; they have the benefit of a constitutional Jury to try all questions which affect their lives or properties; they enjoy the benefit of the Habeas Corpus Act as much as Protestants; they

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have a ſhare in the Magiſtracy; they are Grand Jurors; they can acquire and diſpoſe of their properties, real and perſonal, as freely as Proteſtants; they enjoy a complete toleration in Religion; the Law and the Army are open to them; and they are on a perfect equality with all His Majeſty's other ſubjects, except that their own refuſal to take the Teſt Oaths excludes them from ſeats in Parliament, and from about thirty of the great offices of the State. (See all the preſent incapacities of Iriſh Romaniſts, particularly ſpecified in the 9th ſection of the Act of the 33d year of His preſent Majeſty, entitled, 'An Act for the Relief of His Majeſty's Popiſh 'or Roman Catholic Subjects of Ireland.' Appendix, No. 2.) Such are the chains and fetters in which their Proteſtant countrymen bind Iriſh Romaniſts! and ſuch is the ſlavery ſo pathetically deplored by this Writer, and others of his perſuaſion!

The ſtrength and puiſſance of Iriſh Romaniſts have been put to the trial in their late Rebellion. They were vanquiſhed and completely ſubdued by the Proteſtant power of the nation, without any aſſiſtance from England, in the courſe of about ſix weeks. The Marquis Cornwallis, as before obſerved, had no part of the merit of quelling the Rebellion: it was effectually cruſhed by the meaſures taken by his predeceſſor, before he had time in any manner to interfere. It is true, ſome part of the routed Rebels took ſhelter, after his arrival in Ireland, in the mountains of Wicklow, and from thence made incurſions, in detached gangs of banditti, into the counties of Kildare and Meath; but they were hunted like wild beaſts by the Proteſtant Yeomanry, and would have been all ſlain or hanged, were it not for the merciful interpoſition

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interpoſition of the Marquis. Immediately after his arrival in Ireland, he publiſhed a Proclamation of Indemnity to ſuch of theſe Rebels as would ſubmit, and ſurrender their arms. His Generals reſtrained the efforts of the Yeomanry, incenſed againſt the Rebels for the ſlaughter of their relations and friends, and the waſte of their property. At the time this Proclamation was iſſued, the Rebellion, as to any effects to be dreaded from it of important damage to the nation in general, was cruſhed; and the routed Traitors, hopeleſs, without reſource or means of efficient reſiſtance, juſtly expected the puniſhment due to their horrible crimes; which the Marquis, following the dictates (as I ſuppoſe) of his own clemency, or perhaps by orders from England, remitted.

Two of his Generals were employed to ſuppreſs the only conſiderable body of this ſcattered Banditti, which remained together in the mountains of Wicklow: they were moſtly Murderers, Robbers, and Deſperadoes, hopeleſs of pardon; ſome of them Deſerters from different Regiments of Militia. A Gentleman of the county conducted theſe Generals and their forces to a certain part of the mountains, the rendezvous of theſe aſſaſſins, where they might have deſtroyed the whole gang, amounting to about ſix hundred; but theſe Commanders declined to attack them, declaring they were unwilling to ſhed the blood of *the poor wretches*. They therefore thought it prudent to coax them into ſubmiſſion; for which purpoſe they diſpatched two Romiſh Prieſts to them, loaded with the Proclamations of Indemnity; they collected as many country Girls as they could procure; they hired a number of Iriſh Pipers; they provided hogſheads of whiſkey, ſet the Pipers playing, and

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the Girls dancing, which so delighted the Murderers, that many of them came in, gave up their pikes, partook of the festivity, and departed with plenty of whiskey in their stomachs, and protections in their pockets. The clemency of the Marquis and his Generals was celebrated in all the Romish Newspapers of the city of Dublin; his praises were wafted to London; the Courier, the Morning Chronicle, &c. re-echoed them; the whole Opposition in England from top to bottom,

From flashing Bentleys down to piddling Tibbalds,

rung the changes on his liberality, his mercy, his clemency, his wisdom, &c.: and well they might; for the Marquis arrived in Ireland in the very nick of time, to rescue their party there from final extinction. In short, in respect to the Irish Rebels, the conduct of the Marquis has been marked with concession, conciliation, and pardon, not with warlike hostility; for expiring Rebellion did not demand the exertion of his military talents, and he disdained to trample upon prostrate Traitors. It is my fervent wish, my constant prayer, that the mercy thus extended to these Romish Insurgents may incline their hearts to peace and loyalty, and make them understand, that they live under and are protected by a Government the mildest upon earth, which wishes not to inflict the punishments due to their crimes, but rather that they should repent, and enjoy the comforts of peace and security under the protection of laws, to which all the members of the community are equally subject.

The Marquis Cornwallis certainly merits the tribute of just praise from all the loyal subjects of His Majesty in Ireland, for the powerful exertions of his military skill,

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ſkill, in putting the kingdom into the moſt complete ſtate of defence againſt the invaſion of the foreign enemy, with which it is threatened. Every branch of military ſervice has been attended to by him with the utmoſt care and zeal: the troops have been ſtationed ſo judiciouſly in cantonments, that a ſtrong body can be aſſembled with great expedition in any part of the kingdom, againſt which the Enemy may point his attack; the Cavalry, Infantry, and Artillery, Regulars and Militia, are perfectly well equipped and provided, and the Yeomanry well armed and trained, and ready for action at the ſhorteſt notice; the whole nation wears a military aſpect, and its force is ſo combined and regulated by the ſkilful arrangements of the Marquis, that it may bid defiance to an infinitely more formidable force than its foreign enemies are able to bring againſt it; and internal tranquillity is re-eſtabliſhed, *at leaſt for the preſent.*

The weakneſs and timidity of the Iriſh Proteſtants are the next themes of this Romiſh Declaimer; according to him, their weakneſs makes them timid, their timidity cruel. Of the vaunts of the ſtrength, numbers, and wealth of Iriſh Romaniſts I have already expoſed the falſity; as well by the event of the late Rebellion, as by a fair calculation of their real numbers and wealth. The ſame arguments and calculation prove the real ſtrength, numbers, and wealth of Iriſh Proteſtants. I truſt that in the late Rebellion, as well as on all former occaſions, Iriſh Proteſtants have plainly diſproved the charge of timidity. The cruelty this Author charges upon them, is, that they cruelly refuſed to grant, what he calls Emancipation, to their Romiſh fellow-ſubjects: that is, it is a great

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a great cruelty in Iriſh Proteſtants to refuſe to deliver the Sovereignty of the State into the hands of Iriſh Romaniſts; and this cruelty ariſes from cowardice; for Iriſh Proteſtants are afraid to do ſo. If ſuch be cruelty and cowardice, I hope ſuch will for ever be imputable to Iriſh Proteſtants: may they always be afraid to deliver the State into the power of its enemies! and may they always cruelly refuſe to betray the Conſtitution! it is the ſame cruelty and cowardice a man is guilty of, who tells a gang of robbers, 'Do not attempt to come 'into my houſe, for if you make ſuch attempt, I and 'my ſervants will reſiſt, and perhaps kill you; I will 'not truſt you in my houſe, keep at the outſide.' Such a man certainly is afraid to let them into his houſe, and threatens to kill them if they attempt to force an entrance: is he therefore guilty of cowardice and cruelty?

But one argument remains demonſtrative of the real ſtrength of Iriſh Proteſtants: they have raiſed during this war, in which their connexion with Great Britain has involved them, immenſe ſums for the ſervice of the Empire in general, and for the proſecution of the war. That Iriſh Parliament, which this Writer vilifies and traduces, as the Repreſentatives of a handful of Proteſtants and Engliſhmen, has raiſed in this year ſeven millions ſterling for the public ſervice, though the nation was in that year weakened by the Rebellion of Iriſh Romaniſts; of which great ſum one part out of forty only was, or could be paid by Iriſh Romaniſts: ſome part of that money, it is true, has been borrowed in England, but on the credit and ſecurity of the Iriſh Funds; both principal and intereſt are to be paid by Ireland. All the Engliſh Militia, who, on the breaking out

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out of the Rebellion, ſo gallantly volunteered for the aſſiſtance of their brethren the Proteſtants of Ireland, as well againſt their foreign as domeſtic enemies, were paid, after they arrived in Ireland, out of the Iriſh Treaſury and Iriſh Funds. Are the Iriſh Proteſtants then ſo weak, as to be the objects of deriſion and contempt to this Romiſh Writer and his aſſociates? And is Ireland only *a diverſion of the power and force, an arſenal of attack and injury, and a devouring gulf of the blood and reſources of England in the preſent war*, as this Romiſh Writer aſſerts? The revenues of Pruſſia, one of the moſt potent European States, do not amount yearly to ſix millions ſterling. Ireland, by the efforts of her Proteſtant Parliament and population, has contributed ſeven millions in the laſt year, and in the preceding year, five millions, to the ſupport of the war, and has not coſt Great Britain a ſixpence for her defence. It is true the Britiſh Fleet and Britiſh Militia have flown to her ſupport, when threatened with invaſion by the common enemy: but Ireland has paid the Britiſh Militia for their aſſiſtance. And has not Great Britain employed her fleets and armies for the ſupport of her allies in the preſent war, and even paid the troops of her allies for fighting in their own defence? And is ſhe not bound to give greater aſſiſtance to Ireland, a part of the Britiſh Empire, to defend her againſt the common enemy, than to foreign nations her allies? This Writer ſays, *it would be better for Great Britain, that Ireland were blotted from the liſt of nations, and ſunk in the ſea, than that ſhe ſhould remain a diverſion of her arms in the preſent war.* May not the ſame be ſaid with equal juſtice of any part of Great Britain itſelf, if threatened with an attack by the enemy; of Yorkſhire, of Scotland, for inſtance?

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inſtance? Ireland is in fact as much a part of the Britiſh European Empire, as either of the countries mentioned, and her ſubjugation by the enemy would be as injurious to that Empire, and ſo would her loſs, by immerſion in the ocean.

The complaints of this Libeller, of a criminal neglect of the natives of Ireland by the Engliſh nation, and that the barbarity of theſe natives is juſtly to be attributed to this neglect, are utterly unfounded: ever ſince the commencement of the reign of James the Firſt, as long as the diſtinction of Native and Coloniſt, or rather New Settler, remained among the inhabitants of Ireland, the attention of the Engliſh Monarchs, and their Miniſters in Ireland, was uniformly directed to the encouragement and civilization of the natives; and to the abolition of all diſtinctions between the inhabitants of the country. Their benevolent intentions have been counteracted only, by the intolerant ſpirit of Popery, inceſſantly operating as an effectual barrier againſt harmony and union, as I have already proved.

This Author's praiſes of the Romiſh titular Biſhops in Ireland, of *their learning, humanity, and piety*; of all which accompliſhments, I preſume he means to offer Huſſey, the titular Biſhop of Waterford, as a ſhining example; his advice to them, *to unfurl their Sacred Banners*; his ſuggeſtion of the doctrine of *Impreſcriptibility*, of which he hints a feeble diſapprobation only, according to which Iriſh Romaniſts, or, as he calls them, Natives, *have a right to the poſſeſſion of all the lands of the nation, which no time, no length of poſſeſſion can alienate*; and his frequent introduction of the eternal principles of

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of *revenge* of the Iriſh Romaniſts againſt Iriſh Proteſtants; all; all proclaim him an inveterate Iriſh Romaniſt; and his folly as well as impudence in attempting to aſſume the maſk of an Engliſhman.

I ſhall now cloſe my obſervations on this anonymous ſlanderer and his libel, with the ſum of his arguments, to induce the inhabitants of Ireland to conſent to an Union with Great Britain; from which it will clearly appear, that his real deſign was directly contrary to his profeſſed one; and was to promote the ſeparation of Ireland from Great Britain, by ſtimulating the Iriſh Romaniſts to a Rebellion; and by ſowing the ſeeds of diſſention between the Engliſh and Iriſh Proteſtants; and thereby depriving the latter of all aſſiſtance from Great Britain, if not enſuring its hoſtility againſt them.

His argument to the Iriſh Proteſtants to induce them to conſent to an Union, is as follows: 'You, the Iriſh 'Proteſtants, are the baſeſt, moſt tyrannical, moſt 'cowardly, moſt cruel race of mortals on the earth; 'you are as weak as you are cowardly: we, the Engliſh 'Proteſtants, conſider you in this light; we deteſt your 'crimes; you are murderers and robbers, you cannot 'exiſt but by our favour and protection. Give your-'ſelves up directly into our hands without reſerve; if 'you do not, the deſcendants of thoſe you have mur-'dered and robbed will quickly deſtroy you; notwith-'ſtanding you are ſo infamous a race, and that we have 'ſo thorough a contempt for you, we will confer on 'you a perfect equality with ourſelves; and we, the 'braveſt, the richeſt, and the moſt honourable people 'on the earth, will aſſociate with you on perfect terms

'of

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'of equality. Robbers, murderers, and daſtardly 'wretches as you are, you ſhall become our companions 'and our friends; we will treat you exactly as brethren; 'you ſhall ſhare all our advantages and all our fortunes.' In ſhort, the means by which he propoſes to reconcile Iriſh Proteſtants to an Union with Great Britain, are, in the character of an Engliſhman, to load them with every ſpecies of abuſe, ſlander, and calumny, and brand them with every crime which can debaſe humanity. Very conciliating means truly!

His arguments to induce Iriſh Romaniſts to agree to an Union with Great Britain are: 'You, the natives of 'Ireland, have been baſely and wickedly tyrannized over 'by the Engliſh nation for ſix centuries paſt, as your 'confidential agent Mr. Tone has already told you. The 'Engliſh have robbed you of your lands, they have reduced 'you to a ſtate of barbarous ſlavery: they govern you at 'preſent by a gang of corrupt ſub-tyrants, whom they ſtyle 'a Parliament, *elected by Engliſhmen, and compoſed of Eng-* '*liſhmen, to the excluſion of you the ancient occupants of the ſoil:* 'theſe ſub-tyrants are the Repreſentatives of a handful 'only of Engliſhmen, their fellow-tyrants in your coun- 'try of Ireland: you are fully able to deſtroy them, for 'they are weak and timid. You are juſtly entitled to all 'the lands now poſſeſſed by them, *for no length of time can* '*warrant their retention of them.* You have endured *ſix* '*centuries of calamity, of fruitleſs ſtruggles and tenacious op-* '*preſſion.* Great Britain, employed fully in the preſent 'war with France, is unable to protect her *colony of mur-* '*derers and robbers.* Now is your time for ſhaking off the 'Engliſh yoke. You have *revenge* to gratify, and the '*recovery of your property* will be your reward; the de- 'ſtruction

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'ſtruction of the Engliſh invaders will be the certain con-
'ſequence of your attempt to ſhake off your *chains. I*
'*lately heard a propoſal made in the Britiſh Parliament ut-*
'*terly to extirpate you! not to leave a Rohilla (that is, a*
'*Tribe) of you living!* The Engliſh are Heretics, with
'whom it would be impious for you by the principles of
'your holy Religion, to aſſociate, or fraternize. Your
'Biſhops are men of the greateſt piety, humanity, and
'learning, particularly the *Right Reverend Father Huſſey,*
'your Biſhop of Waterford: you have all read his pious
'Paſtoral Letter, fully ſtating *your oppreſſion by a handful*
'*of Heretics, not a tenth, nay not an hundredth part of you*
'*in number.* Unfurl your ſacred banners, as your
'brethren the late ſuppreſſed Iriſh martyrs did; they
'marched under ſacred green banners, with a white croſs
'and reverſed crown floating in the midſt: you ought to
'have all joined in that holy war, though you did not,
'from an ill-grounded timidity; conſequently the Here-
'tics were victorious. Yet I adviſe you to forget your
'*revenge,* to abandon all thoughts of *recovering your lands,*
'and to give yourſelves up into the hands of the *Engliſh*
'*Heretics* by agreeing to an Incorporating Union with
'Great Britain!'

How far ſuch arguments are likely to ſucceed with Iriſh Romaniſts in promoting an Union; and how far the Author intended they ſhould ſucceed, I leave to the judgment of the reader.

I ſhall now proceed, purſuant to my original purpoſe, to make a few ſhort remarks on ſome pamphlets which have been publiſhed in England, on the ſubject of an Incorporating Union, as the ſubſtance of Speeches made in

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in both Houſes of the Britiſh Parliament, by men of great rank, and in high offices in Britain. My remarks ſhall be confined to ſuch parts of their Speeches, as relate to the two great claſſes of Iriſh population, to wit, thoſe of Proteſtants and Romaniſts.

Obſervations on a pamphlet, entitled, 'The Speech of Lord Minto, in the Houſe of Lords, April 11, 1799.'

I will begin with a pamphlet entitled, '*The Speech of 'Lord Minto in the Houſe of Lords, April* 11, 1799,' becauſe his Lordſhip has conſumed ſixteen pages, beginning at page 66, and ending with page 82, in arguing for the *right*, as he ſtyles it, *of Iriſh Romaniſts to political equality with Iriſh Proteſtants*. He ſtyles their excluſion from Parliament, and from about thirty of the great offices of the State, ſuch as thoſe of Vicerov, of Lord Chancellor, of Judges, and of General in Chief, &c. *the preſent humiliating and degrading excluſion of the Catholic part of the Iriſh nation*; throughout ſtyling Iriſh Romaniſts, *Catholics*, not Romaniſts, or Roman Catholics, excluding Proteſtants from all title to *Catholicity*, though Chriſtians: he ſtates himſelf to be a *warm* friend to the meaſure of an Union, principally on account of its meliorating the condition, and extinguiſhing the diſcontents of a great majority of the inhabitants of Ireland, *by providing for the juſt claims of the Catholic Iriſh, by an explicit article of the treaty itſelf*. And he ſtates a very curious dilemma, entirely founded on the *aſſumed poſition, that Iriſh Romaniſts have a juſt right to political equality with Proteſtants*; which aſſumption his Lordſhip, who ſeems to be an expert logician, muſt know to be *petitio principii*. The dilemma is thus: 'Proteſtant aſcendancy in Ireland cannot be ſup-'ported without derogating from *what may appear to be* 'a natural right of the Catholic:' (in many other places he poſitively aſſerts it to be his right.) 'Catholics can-'not

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'not be ſupported in their claim of equality, without 'transferring to them that aſcendancy, which equality of 'rights muſt draw to the larger body; this muſt ex- 'poſe the Proteſtants to danger, who ought to be pro- 'tected: and Ireland in its preſent ſituation will be 'gored by one or other of the horns of this dilemma.' He ſtyles the Iriſh Proteſtant aſcendancy a '*monopoly* op- 'poſed to *common right*, that is, to the right of Ro- 'maniſts to political equality.' His Lordſhip, being aware of His Majeſty's Coronation Oath, and the Treaty of Union between England and Scotland; of both which he was too cautious in direct terms to recommend the violation; expreſſes himſelf thus: 'I do not ſee how 'the *jus tertii*, as it may be called, of England, can 'affect the relative claims of theſe two Iriſh nations '(Proteſtants and Romaniſts), or of theſe two parts of 'the Iriſh nation; and therefore I might have thought 'it difficult to aſſign a ſufficient reaſon, to preclude His 'Majeſty, as ſovereign of Ireland, from concurring 'with his Iriſh Parliament, *or even from exerting, in 'every lawful way, his legitimate powers, in promoting 'ſuch meaſures as might be calculated* to place every claſs 'of his Iriſh ſubjects on an equal footing as to civil 'rights, and conſolidate theſe two hoſtile nations into '*one peaceable and united family.*' All this cautious, circumlocutory, wheedling argument is uſed by his Lordſhip, to inſinuate, that England has no intereſt in ſupporting the Iriſh Proteſtants; and that the Coronation Oath, and the Treaty of Union between England and Scotland, ought not to preclude the adoption of meaſures tending to the ſubverſion of the preſent Proteſtant eſtabliſhment in Ireland. His Lordſhip propoſes two methods of effecting this: one through the medium of the Iriſh Parliament;

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liament; the other, *through that of the King's prerogative*: and I wiſh his Lordſhip had condeſcended to explain, by what lawful exertion of the King's prerogative, the acts requiring the Oath of Supremacy to be taken, and the Declaration againſt Popery to be repeated and ſubſcribed, by all Members of both Houſes of Parliament, and by all the great officers of the State, can be diſpenſed with, or how theſe Acts can be repealed or altered, except by Parliament. The rejection of this Oath and Declaration by Romaniſts, is the only bar to their being on an exact level with Proteſtants as to all civil rights: what then can be his Lordſhip's meaning in inſinuating that Romaniſts may be put on an exact level with Proteſtants, by His Majeſty's exerting in every lawful way his legitimate powers, as contra-diſtinguiſhed from his concurrence with his Parliament? Does he mean to inſinuate that His Majeſty poſſeſſes a legitimate power to diſpenſe with the proviſions of Acts of Parliament? And if he does not, I hope his Lordſhip will take an occaſion of explaining this paſſage for the ſatisfaction as well of Iriſh as of Engliſh Proteſtants.

His Lordſhip proceeds to argue, 'I cannot admit 'the aſcendancy of one part of a nation over another 'part of the ſame nation, to the extent, and to the 'purpoſe claimed in Ireland (that is, the excluſion of 'Romaniſts from ſeats in Parliament, and from the 'great offices of the State, by the obligation of the Acts 'enjoining the taking of the Oath of Supremacy and 'the repeating and ſigning the Declaration), as capable of 'aſſuming any character deſerving the denomination 'of right; that which is wrong on one ſide, cannot, 'intelligibly to me, become a right in the other: wrong 'is

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'is not a material of which it appears possible to con-
'struct right. The virtues of possession, prescription,
'or any other limitation of time, which are supposed to
'cure the vices of a bad title, are not at all applicable
'to the case of perpetually subsisting, and as it were
'renovating wrongs, especially such as affect the poli-
'tical rights of great numbers of men; instead of con-
'verting right into wrong, they only improve and for-
'tify the title of those who suffer, to shake off the in-
'jury on the first opportunity that offers.' His Lord-
ship then states, 'that the Catholics of Ireland not only
'claim a participation in civil franchises enjoyed by
'their Protestant countrymen, but they foster claims
'on the property of Protestants, the present possession
'of which they treat as mere usurpation.' He then
gives a fling, in the true French taste, against the as-
piring character of *all Churches*, as he was obliged to
admit that such was the character of the Romish
Church. With a good deal of caution he insinuates,
that titles to lands, or any thing else, by prescription,
are not the best; and that all titles of Irish Protestants,
either to ascendancy in political power, or to property,
are by prescription. The first he absolutely condemns,
as continuations of wrong; with respect to the other,
the titles to landed property, he only '*hints a flaw, and*
'*hesitates doubt.*'

Notwithstanding all this argument for the justice of the claims of Irish Romanists to political equality, and after stating, 'that their prospect of obtaining it by the Treaty
'of Union between Great Britain and Ireland, is his prin-
'cipal reason for approving that measure; and after dis-
'tinguishing the two classes of Irish Protestants and Ro-

'manists

'manists by an East Indian term of *different casts*: and 'stating, that they are inflamed against each other by 'mutual hatred, whose motives are irreconcilable, its 'character bitter, malignant, and implacable; that the 'sovereign cast of Irishmen (that is, Protestants) claim 'their sovereignty as of right, and ground it on an old 'title of *conquest*, confirmed, *as they contend*, by possession, 'acquiescence, and *prescription*:' and after drawing all this picture of the state of Ireland, and in the middle of all his laboured argument of the *right* of Irish Romanists to *political equality*, his Lordship makes the following ingenuous confession: 'I certainly pretend to no credit on 'such points from *personal knowledge or inquiry*. I should 'wish, therefore, to qualify any thing that may appear 'rash or peremptory, in what I hazard on such a subject, 'by avowing that degree of diffidence in my own views, 'which may be thought becoming with regard to facts, 'which though attested, I think, satisfactorily by others, 'have not fallen under my own observation.' It is sincerely to be wished, that his Lordship, confessing his own want of knowledge of the subject, had been less rash and peremptory, and had not hazarded so much on the state of Ireland, and on the subject of the claims of Irish Romanists to political equality (though, as his Lordship expresses himself, *he could not help sympathizing with them*, and consequently with all the members of Opposition both in Great Britain and Ireland; and with all the Jacobins in both kingdoms, who have repeatedly proclaimed a similar sympathy), because his Lordship being a great diplomatic character, and high in the confidence of the British Government, does no small mischief to that very Government, in advancing and openly patronizing principles subversive, not only of the Irish Constitution, *but of the British also*, as

I hope

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I hope to make evident, and that too without any neceſſity whatſoever for the promulgation of ſuch doctrines; which, ſo far from being favourable to an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland, tend to render the accompliſhment of that great meaſure more difficult, perhaps impracticable: and it is the more to be lamented, when it is conſidered, that the meaſure can be ſupported by irrefragable arguments of ſignal public advantage, without reſorting to ſuch fallacious and pernicious principles and doctrines.

I have been diligent in my inquiries reſpecting Lord Minto, as I have not the honour of the ſlighteſt perſonal acquaintance with his Lordſhip. From the information I have received, I find that he is a Scotch gentleman of family, and before his advancement to the Peerage, he was known by the name and title of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. and had been for a time Viceroy of Corſica: he had contracted a great intimacy with Mr. Edmund Burke, the great Iriſh apoſtle of Popery already mentioned. He appears by the pamphlet I am now commenting upon, to be a perſon of learning and ſagacity: his abilities ſtand confeſſed by his being intruſted by the Britiſh Government with the execution of commiſſions of the greateſt importance, and with the moſt honourable embaſſies: his ſervices to his King and Country have raiſed him to the Britiſh Peerage. In this pamphlet he has collected the moſt powerful arguments, which have been urged, either in Great Britain or Ireland, in favour of an Incorporating Union of the two countries, and diſpoſed them in admirable order: though little is urged in it, which had not been already laid before the public; yet the arguments are digeſted in ſo perſpicuous and connected a ſeries, and diſ-

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poſed of with ſo much judgment, that it may be ſaid to comprize in itſelf all the merit of all preceding publications on the ſubject: I think it a very valuable performance. With theſe ideas of it, I felt great pain on reading the paſſages I have quoted. The rank and ability of the writer, and the excellent reaſoning contained in the other parts of it, rendered a refutation of theſe exceptionable paragraphs and their doctrines a work of imperious neceſſity. Such are my only reaſon, and my only excuſe, for entering the liſts of argument with ſo great and ſo reſpectable a character as his Lordſhip, though I am as ſincere a friend to the meaſure of an Incorporating Union as his Lordſhip.

All his Lordſhip's arguments in favour of the claims of the Iriſh Romaniſts to political equality are founded on this one poſition, *that they are entitled to that equality by common right.* Common right, in the uſual acceptation of the word, means the common law of the land: but I perſume his Lordſhip means it in a more extended ſenſe, and that he means a right founded on the immutable rules of reaſon and juſtice. If this poſition is overturned, his Lordſhip's whole argument falls with it: it therefore demands examination. The rights of mankind in political ſocieties are twofold, natural and political: the firſt are born with a man, he becomes entitled to them the moment of his birth; but as man is a ſocial animal, and as the human race cannot ſubſiſt but in ſociety, he becomes entitled to them with this limitation, that the enjoyment of them is to be regulated by that ſociety of which he is born a member, whilſt he continues one of that ſociety. The ſociety may eſtabliſh certain rules for its own preſervation, and without which it cannot ſubſiſt, reſtraining

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and modifying the full exercise of what are called natural rights, in cases where the full exercise of natural rights would endanger the existence or security of the society; and regulations for the secure enjoyment of natural rights thus modified. To these rules and regulations all members of all political societies must submit; and all the benefits men enjoy under these laws are their political rights. In fact, mankind's political rights, are their natural rights modified, and their enjoyment secured, by the laws of society. Natural rights are immutable; modifications of them by the laws of society are various, in the various societies of mankind on the face of the globe; and hence they are styled political rights as distinguished from natural. The laws of each society have been originally framed on the consent of the majority of the community, either tacit or express: general acquiescence implies tacit consent: actual compact, as is the case in some societies, is express consent. These rules have been altered in societies at times by tyranny and usurpation. In the British Empire, the common law is that system of law which is established by tacit consent for ages: the statute law is that system of law which is established by consent or agreement of the members. In great or even considerable empires or governments, it is utterly impracticable to collect the opinions of all the members of the society taken by the poll, on any public measure: such an attempt would tend to inevitable confusion and dissolution of the society; because the great mass of the people in all States, subsisting by bodily labour, are ignorant and incapable in general of forming correct opinions on great and momentous political questions. By the British Constitution, generally and deservedly esteemed the very essence of political wisdom, the method of collecting the opinions of the majority of

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the nation, for the purpoſe of enacting new laws, or altering or abrogating the old ones, is partly by the votes of the majority of a certain claſs of great and diſtinguiſhed perſonages eminent for their dignity and property: but chiefly by the votes of the majority of Repreſentatives choſen by the people, and aſſembled in general Council or Parliament: theſe Repreſentatives, though they repreſent the whole body or maſs of the people, yet are not elected by the majority of votes of the people of each diſtrict reckoned by the poll, but by their property: and one twentieth part of the people at large are not qualified, by their property, to vote at the elections of their Repreſentatives in Parliament either in England or Ireland.

What Lord Minto ſtyles the ſovereignty of the Proteſtants in Ireland over the Iriſh Romaniſts conſiſts in this; that Proteſtants are capable of ſitting in Parliament, and of filling about thirty of the great offices of the State, to which the exerciſe of the ſupreme Executive Power is intruſted: and the Romaniſts exclude themſelves from theſe two capacities by rejecting the Oath of Supremacy and Declaration, as already mentioned: both which the Proteſtants take and ſubſcribe on being admitted into Parliament, or into any of theſe offices. In every other particular there is a perfect equality of political privileges at preſent between Iriſh Proteſtants and Romaniſts. The Iriſh Proteſtants maintain that the aforeſaid excluſion of Iriſh Romaniſts (which his Lordſhip is pleaſed to ſtyle Proteſtant Sovereignty and Monopoly; terms learned in the ScholaBurkeiana) had its origin in political right, and in the very firſt of political rights, to wit, that of the State to preſerve its own exiſtence, and independence of all foreign juriſdictions: and whatever aſcendancy (ſtyled by his Lordſhip

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Lordſhip Sovereignty) this excluſion has conferred on Iriſh Proteſtants, they claim the ſame, not, as his Lordſhip very erroneouſly ſuppoſes, on the title of conqueſt, of acquieſcence or preſcription; but on the ſtatute law of the land, enacted both in England and Ireland. And I cannot ſufficiently expreſs my amazement at this very extraordinary miſtake of his Lordſhip, a great diplomatic character, and ſuppoſed to be perfectly well acquainted with the laws of his country!

The excluſion of Romaniſts from all public offices in England and Ireland, commences with the operation of the Statute which enacts the Oath of Supremacy, and which was enacted in England in the firſt, and in Ireland in the ſecond year of Queen Elizabeth: and all acceſs to ſuch offices in England has been doubly barred, as againſt Romaniſts, by the Teſt and Corporation Acts. (See Appendix, No. 3.) In Ireland theſe two Acts, there alſo enacted, have been with great precipitancy, not to ſay want of political wiſdom, repealed in 1793; except ſo far as relates to the great offices of the State already mentioned. The excluſion of Romaniſts from ſeats in Parliament, ariſing from the Oath of Supremacy and Declaration, took place in England by the operation of the Statute of the 30th of Charles the Second, chap. 2; and the doors of Parliament were further barred againſt them in England by the Statute of the 1ſt of George the Firſt, chap. 13, both which Statutes are yet unrepealed; they were both enacted ſoon after in Ireland. By theſe Statutes, to prevent crude innovations in Religion and Government, it is enacted, that no Member ſhall ſit or vote in either Houſe of Parliament, till he hath, in the preſence of the Houſe, taken the Oaths of

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Supremacy, Allegiance, and Abjuration; and repeated and ſubſcribed the Declaration againſt Tranſubſtantiation, Invocation of Saints, and Sacrifice of the Maſs. (See Engliſh Statutes, and 1ſt Blackſtone's Commentaries, p. 158, octavo edition.) By the 22nd article of the Union of England and Scotland all Scotch Members are obliged to take the ſame Oaths, and ſubſcribe the ſame Declaration: and in the Act ratifying the Treaty of Union of England and Scotland two Acts of the reſpective Parliaments of the two nations are recited, the one providing for the perpetual eſtabliſhment and maintenance of the Preſbyterian Church in Scotland, the other for the perpetual eſtabliſhment and maintenance of the Church of England, in England, Wales, *Ireland*, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed: and theſe two Acts are therein declared to be fundamental and eſſential conditions of that Union. (See Defoe's Hiſtory of the Union of England and Scotland, from page 557 to 562, and the Engliſh Statutes.) How then can his Lordſhip maintain that the excluſion of Iriſh Romaniſts from Parliament, and the aforeſaid offices, which he, adopting the phraſeology of his Gamaliel, Mr. Edmund Burke, is pleaſed to ſtyle Proteſtant Sovereignty, Aſcendancy, and Monopoly, is a wrong; and its continuance a continuance of wrong? He muſt mean, that it is a reſtriction of the natural rights of man, which is not required by that firſt of political objects, the ſafety and preſervation of the State; or that it is not conformable to the opinions of the majority of the members of the community, and therefore unjuſt. As to the firſt, I have already proved, that Romaniſts, from their religious doctrines, ought not to be admitted to the enjoyment of any portion of the Sovereignty of a Proteſtant State; and that they ſhould

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ſhould be excluded from the Houſes of Lords and Commons, both in Great Britain and Ireland, becauſe it would be highly injurious, and perhaps, in Ireland, deſtructive to the State to admit them; and conſequently that it is no wrong to exclude them. If their excluſion is a wrong in Ireland, it muſt be a wrong in Great Britain; for the principles of natural juſtice are immutable, and not variable by the circumſtance of their being more numerous in Ireland than in Great Britain. What is right or wrong in this particular in the one country, muſt be right or wrong in the other. Their excluſion in Ireland is more requiſite than in Great Britain, on account of their greater numbers in the former country, and their claims to all the landed property in the hands of Proteſtants, the poſſeſſion of which, his Lordſhip ſtates, they conſider as *uſurpation*: and Dr. Troy, as before mentioned, ſtates, that they conſider the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment an *uſurpation*. Theſe circumſtances render their elevation in Ireland more dangerous than in Great Britain, and their excluſion in the former country more juſt and reaſonable.

If his Lordſhip thinks the excluſion of Romaniſts from Parliament and the great offices of the State a wrong, he muſt think that all the great ſtateſmen in Britain and Ireland, ſince the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, were workers of iniquity; and all the Statutes enacted ſince, reſpecting Romaniſts, public wrongs; he muſt think King James the Second was perfectly juſtifiable in endeavouring to remedy this wrong; the glorious King William the Third an uſurper; and all who aſſiſted in the Revolution of 1688 Rebels. His Lordſhip declares it to be his warmeſt

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wiſh to eſtabliſh Iriſh Romaniſts in an equality of civil right with Iriſh Proteſtants; King James the Second profeſſed nothing more. He profeſſed ſimilar deſigns in England. His attempts to carry theſe deſigns into execution, both in England and Ireland, coſt him his crown, and conſigned him and his luckleſs progeny to perpetual exile.

His Lordſhip cannot arraign the aforeſaid Statutes of injuſtice in excluding Romaniſts, on the principle that they are not conformable to the opinion of the majority of the Iriſh nation: for, waving the argument of the ſuperior number by the poll of the Proteſtants in Great Britain and Ireland, taken together, over the Romaniſts, and conſidering Ireland a diſtinct and independent nation (which it is not), let his Lordſhip's principle be examined by the principles of the Conſtitution: by that conſtitution, the Repreſentatives of the people are elected by the People, reckoned, not by their numbers by the poll, but by their property: thirty-nine parts out of forty of Iriſh property are in the hands of Iriſh Proteſtants, conſequently the conſtitutional power of election is poſſeſſed by the Iriſh Proteſtants, though Romaniſts now enjoy the elective franchiſe, as well as Proteſtants: the Houſe of Commons, ſo elected, together with the Lords and the Monarch, have enacted theſe Statutes, by the operation of which Romaniſts are excluded; that is, they were enacted by the true legitimate Sovereign Power of the State. The very capacity of ſitting in Parliament and enjoying public offices is a political right, merely ariſing from the inſtitutions of civil ſociety, and may juſtly be withheld or abridged by the ſupreme conſtitutional power of that ſociety, when it deems

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deems the exertion of its authority in ſuch particulars conducive to the well-being of the State. With what propriety or truth can his Lordſhip then maintain, that the excluſion of Romaniſts from certain political ſituations, effected by the operation of Statutes enacted by Parliament, aſſembled purſuant to the principles of the Conſtitution, is a wrong, and an unjuſt invaſion of their natural rights? It is a poſition not to be ſupported by reaſon or argument!

I truſt I have fairly lopped off the firſt horn of his Lordſhip's dilemma, to wit, that excluſion of Iriſh Romaniſts cannot be ſupported, and conſequent Proteſtant aſcendancy maintained, without violation of the natural rights of the Iriſh Romaniſts, and continuation of the injuſtice. I have reduced his two-horned bugbear to an unicorn; and I will preſerve the remaining horn, to wit, that the excluſion of Iriſh Romaniſts cannot be repealed, and their claims acceded to, without detriment to the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment in Ireland, to gore and lacerate (to uſe his own words) the remainder of his Lordſhip's argument with: nay more, I will ſharpen this horn, and prove, that the admiſſion of Iriſh Romaniſts into Parliament and the great offices of the State, would, in the event of an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland taking place, be ſubverſive of the Conſtitution of the Empire in general; and that the publication and ſupport of ſuch a project by great Miniſters of State are very likely to diſincline the real friends of the Conſtitution in Church and State, as well in Great Britain as Ireland, to the meaſure of an Union.

However,

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However, before I begin to uſe the horn, it is not improper to take notice, that his Lordſhip has inſinuated that Iriſh Proteſtants hold their eſtates under the titles of Conqueſt or Preſcription. Conqueſt is in general a title founded on wrong; and the title by preſcription his Lordſhip endeavours to diſcredit. I am extremely ſorry to be obliged to obſerve, that his Lordſhip here manifeſts much want of knowledge of the real ſituation and circumſtances of Ireland, and that his Gamaliel has led him again into a groſs error. If any eſtates in Ireland can at this day be ſaid to be enjoyed under the title of Conqueſt, they muſt be ſuch as were acquired by the firſt Britiſh adventurers in Ireland in the reign of Henry the Second. His acquiſition of Ireland cannot properly be called a Conqueſt; for thoughh he arrived in Ireland at the head of an army, the whole Iriſh nation, as I before obſerved, ſubmitted, and ſwore fealty to him, and choſe him for their Monarch, without putting him to the neceſſity of ſtriking a blow. Of the great eſtates acquired by his followers, ſome were gained, not by force, but by lawful conveyance and ſucceſſion: ſuch was that of Richard de Clare, Earl of Chepſtow, ſurnamed Strongbow, who married the only daughter and child of the King of Leinſter, and became in her right entitled to a vaſt territory in that province, in which he ſettled a great number of his vaſſals; and which always, till the reign of Elizabeth, was the moſt conſiderable ſeat of the Engliſh Colony in Ireland, and great part of it was called the Pale, or the Territory governed by Engliſh Laws. However, whether the firſt Engliſh adventurers gained their eſtates by the ſword, or otherwiſe, I apprehend to be at this day of little conſequence, for there is ſcarce remaining a ſingle eſtate in this kingdom

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dom which is not held by titles derived from Elizabeth, or her ſucceſſors, by Patents, Acts of Parliament, or other good and ſufficient conveyances. And it might be ſaid, with more reaſon, that all the great families in England, moſt of whom yet retain their Norman ſurnames, and whoſe anceſtors obtained eſtates in the reign of William the Conqueror, held theſe eſtates by Conqueſt. For the acquiſition of England by William preceded the acquiſition of Ireland by Henry only by one century; and a much greater proportion of perſons in Ireland, poſſeſſing landed eſtates, have old Iriſh ſurnames, than perſons of the ſame deſcription in England, who have Saxon, or old Britiſh ſurnames.

The inſinuation, that many Iriſh Proteſtants derive the titles of their eſtates from Preſcription, is equally groundleſs. After the firſt acquiſition of Ireland by the Engliſh Crown, there does not ſeem to have been any very great influx of Engliſh into Ireland for ſome centuries. The civil wars of York and Lancaſter drew out of Ireland moſt of the great Engliſh families which had ſettled in it, together with their vaſſals, and moſt of them periſhed in that unhappy conteſt. The greater part of the remainder of the Engliſh Colony adopted the barbarous Iriſh cuſtoms, and degenerated into Iriſh barbarians. After the acceſſion of Elizabeth, the Earl of Deſmond, a great and powerful Nobleman in Munſter, of Engliſh extraction, rebelled againſt her; ſhe ſubdued him, and all his vaſt poſſeſſions were forfeited to the Crown: ſhe granted them to a conſiderable colony of Engliſh ſettlers. The great and formidable Rebellion of the Earl of Tyrone broke out afterwards in her reign: he poſſeſſed, by himſelf or his vaſſals, almoſt

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almoſt the whole province of Ulſter. The Queen, after a long, expenſive, and deſtructive war, which deſolated the country, completely vanquiſhed him, but died before ſhe could reap the fruits of her victory. Her ſucceſſor, James the Firſt, employed his whole reign in improving the nation; he divided part of the lands forfeited in this Rebellion, and another which followed cloſe on its heels, among Engliſh and Scotch ſettlers, and his loyal Iriſh Proteſtant ſubjects, and the reſt he parcelled out among the native Iriſh. His ſon, Charles the Firſt, followed his example; and a great part of the Iriſh nation, which held their lands by preſcription, ſurrendered them to the Crown, and paſſed patents for them, conforming to the Engliſh law of tenures, either in capite or ſocage. When Cromwell had reduced the Iriſh Rebels, he divided the lands forfeited by the Rebellion among the ſoldiers, adventurers, and loyal Iriſh Proteſtants. Such of his grants as ſtill ſubſiſt, and a large portion of Ireland is held under them, were confirmed immediately after the Reſtoration, by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. The forfeitures of the Rebels in the reign of King William have alſo been diſpoſed of by patents among the King's loyal ſubjects. And all theſe eſtates ſince the original grants of them, have been conveyed over and over again, for valuable conſiderations, by family ſettlements, and by purchaſes, inſomuch that there is ſcarcely one eſtate in the whole Kingdom of Ireland held by the title of Preſcription; the original grants of them all can be produced, or are recited in the different conveyances. But if they were held by Preſcription, as his Lordſhip erroneouſly ſuppoſes, a poſſeſſion of two hundred years from the reign of Elizabeth; of one hundred and fifty, at leaſt, from the

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reigns of James and Charles; of near an hundred and fifty from the time of Cromwell; and of upwards of one hundred ſince the laſt forfeitures in the reign of King William, would conſtitute a good title to the preſent poſſeſſors by the laws of Great Britain and Ireland, which make ſixty years undiſturbed poſſeſſion a good title, and a bar in a writ of right.

As a conſiderable part of the landed eſtates in the poſſeſſion of Iriſh Proteſtants conſiſts of lands forfeited to the Crown in the different Rebellions I have mentioned, when his Lordſhip hints that Iriſh Proteſtants derive their titles to their eſtates from Conqueſt, he muſt mean, that the ſuppreſſion of every Rebellion is a Conqueſt. The juſt rights of a conqueror are pretty accurately defined by Mr. Locke, in his Treatiſe on Government, but the conduct of a conqueror to the vanquiſhed is generally meaſured by his will and pleaſure; and is the exerciſe of an arbitrary tyranny over their perſons and properties: and his Lordſhip's view, in inſinuating that the titles of Iriſh Proteſtants to their eſtates are founded in Conqueſt, ſeems to be, to diſparage Iriſh Proteſtants, as deriving their properties from the exertions of unlawful violence and rapacity; that is, in plain Engliſh, that they are the heirs of robbers and plunderers; as has, indeed, been already aſſerted by the abuſive Author of '*Conſiderations on the State of Public Affairs in the year* 1799.' I never before heard it inſinuated, that the ſuppreſſion of a Rebellion was a Conqueſt of the nation: Conqueſt entirely changes the laws, conſtitution, and government of a nation; but the ſuppreſſion of a Rebellion, in part of a nation (and in every Rebellion a part of a nation only is engaged),

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gaged), does not change the laws, conſtitution, and government of a nation: it, on the contrary, eſtabliſhes them all, and gives them additional ſecurity. Are the ſuppreſſions of all the various Rebellions in England, ſince the acceſſion of William the Firſt to the preſent day, to be conſidered as conqueſts of England? And is the ſuppreſſion of every Rebellion in Ireland, ſince the acceſſion of Henry the Second, to be conſidered as a new Conqueſt of Ireland; the very ſuppoſition is an abſurdity. Rebellion is High Treaſon; its guilt and its puniſhment are accurately defined by the laws of England and Ireland, and one part of the puniſhment is the forfeiture of the property of Rebels to the Crown: the Crown diſpoſes of this forfeited property to its loyal ſubjects, in reward of their ſervices, or for other valuable conſiderations; and the grantees of the Crown hold ſuch property by a legal title, not founded on Conqueſt, but on the known and eſtabliſhed laws of the land. But whatever was his Lordſhip's view in inſinuating that the Iriſh Proteſtants held their eſtates by the title of Conqueſt, and that the Iriſh Romaniſts, being unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed, had a right to reclaim them, whether it was to diſparage or to intimidate, Iriſh Proteſtants, conſcious of the juſtice and lawfulneſs of their titles, and of their own ſtrength and courage to defend them againſt all attempts of Iriſh Romaniſts, read ſuch inſinuations with the moſt perfect apathy, as they do all his Lordſhip's laboured doubts reſpecting the efficacy of a title by Preſcription; and were it not for the high reſpect I entertain for his Lordſhip, I might make uſe of a harſher expreſſion.

I now

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I now arm myself with the remaining horn of his Lordship's dilemma, to wit, *that the admission of Irish Romanists into Parliament, and to the great executive offices of the State, would be very prejudicial to the Irish Protestants, and would much endanger the established Constitution in Ireland.* To render this horn still more formidable, I can furnish it with a very strong and very sharp antler, to wit, *that such admission would, in case of an Union, greatly endanger the British Constitution, and must be attended with an Innovation in it; which, I trust, will be reprobated by His Majesty; by the great Minister, who now with so much glory to himself, and advantage to the Nation, takes the lead in the British Cabinet; and by all the loyal Protestant inhabitants of Great Britain:* and that so far from promoting an Union, the very proposal of so dangerous an innovation must throw the greatest impediments in the way of that most salutary measure.

The danger of admitting Irish Romanists into Parliament in Ireland, that is, into a share of the sovereign authority of the State, I have already very fully exposed. The appointment of a Romish Viceroy of Ireland, of a Romish Lord Chancellor, of Romish Judges, of a Romish Commander in Chief of the army, and the admission of Romish Peers and Commoners into Parliament, must all tend to the subversion of the Irish Protestant Establishment, both in Church and State; this is so notorious, that no arguments are required to prove it: it is evident that such appointments, and such admission, would of themselves be a subversion of the present establishment. This horn without the antler is sufficient to lacerate all his Lordship's arguments in the present situation of Great Britain and Ireland.

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Let us now ſuppoſe that an Incorporating Union of the two countries had taken place, and that they were conſolidated into one body. If in ſuch caſe Romaniſts were to be admitted into Parliament, and to fill the great offices of the State, all the laws enacted in England againſt Popery, ſince the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, muſt be repealed. I will mention ſome of theſe Acts particularly, that *the of People England may clearly underſtand the momentous and dangerous alterations which muſt be made in the Britiſh Conſtitution*, which has been improving from the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, till it has attained its preſent unrivalled excellence; under which the preſent generation and their anceſtors for two centuries have lived; and which has deſcended to the People of England during that period, in ſucceſſion from father to ſon, as an inheritance; if what Lord Minto ſtyles *the preſent humiliating and degrading excluſion of the Catholic part of the Iriſh nation* ſhall be done away, by the adoption of his ſcheme of conferring equal privileges on them with their fellow-ſubjects, in caſe of an Union.

The Act of the 1ſt of Elizabeth, which enjoins the taking of the Oath of Supremacy by all public officers; the Bill of Rights, the 1ſt of William and Mary, new-modelling the Oath of Supremacy, and extending the ſphere of the operation of the Act of Elizabeth in reſpect to that Oath, muſt be repealed. The Acts of the 30th of Charles the ſecond, chap. 2, and the 1ſt of George the Firſt, chap. 13, enacting that no Member ſhall ſit or vote in either Houſe of Parliament, till he hath, in the preſence of the Houſe, taken the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Abjuration, and repeated and ſubſcribed the Declaration, muſt be repealed. The Teſt

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Teſt Act, requiring all officers, civil and military, to take the above Oaths, repeat and ſubſcribe the Declaration, and receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the uſage of the Church of England, muſt be repealed: the Corporation Act muſt ſhare the ſame fate. Theſe two Acts, Blackſtone ſtates to be bulwarks of the Conſtitution, and that they were enacted to ſecure the eſtabliſhed Church againſt perils from Non-conformiſts of all denominations, among which he particularly enumerates *Papiſts*. (See Blackſtone's Commentaries, vol. iv, page 57, octavo edition.) And he ſtates, that the Acts of Charles the Second, and George the Firſt, requiring all Members of both Houſes of Parliament to take the Oaths, and repeat and ſubſcribe the Declaration, were enacted, to prevent crude innovations in Religion and Government. (See Blackſtone's Commentaries, vol. i. page 158, octavo edition.) The articles and proviſions of the Treaty of Union of England and Scotland muſt be altered: that one, among others, which enjoins the taking of the Coronation Oath by his Majeſty; and more particularly thoſe parts of the Treaty ſtyled by Blackſtone fundamental and eſſential conditions of the Union. (See Blackſtone's Commentaries, 1ſt vol. pages 92, 93, octavo edition.) I have quoted Blackſtone on theſe points, to ſhow the opinions of that able conſtitutional lawyer on the parts of the *Engliſh* laws relating to Papiſts; becauſe in his remarks on the *Engliſh Popery Code*, he expreſſes his opinion, that ſeveral parts of it, which he enumerates, may be repealed without inconvenience; but the parts I have above mentioned, he thinks eſſentially neceſſary to the preſervation of the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment in Church and State in *England*, and that they cannot be repealed

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conſiſtently with the ſafety of that eſtabliſhment in *England*, or with the continuation of the Union of England and Scotland.

It may be here argued, that an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland may be effected, without all the aforeſaid alterations in the laws of England; for ſtipulations may be inſerted in the Treaty of an Union of the two nations, that Iriſh Romaniſts, elected in Ireland members of the imperial Parliament, ſhall ſit and vote therein, without taking the Oaths, or ſubſcribing the Declaration above-mentioned; and that they ſhall be capable of filling public offices in Ireland on the ſame terms. And it may be urged, in reſpect to offices, that ſtipulations have taken place in the Act of Union of England and Scotland; for Scotchmen are by that Act capable of filling public offices in Scotland, without taking the Oaths preſcribed to be taken by public officers in England, and without receiving the Sacrament according to the uſage of the Church of England. On the part of this argument which relates to public offices, I ſhall only obſerve, that public officers in Scotland, as I am informed, are obliged to take oaths and engagements full as hoſtile to Popery, as thoſe enjoined to be taken by public officers in England, *which they were obliged to take in their own country before the Union:* and that no Scotchman can enjoy any office in England without taking the Oaths, and receiving the Sacrament as preſcribed in England. But with reſpect to the capacity of ſitting in Parliament, ſuch ſtipulations can receive no ſort of countenance from the conditions of the Union of England and Scotland; for the Scotch Members are not admitted to ſit in the Parliament of Great Britain,

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Britain, without taking the ſame Oaths, and repeating and ſubſcribing the ſame Declaration, as the Engliſh Members are obliged to take, repeat, and ſubſcribe. I will therefore proceed to examine the practicability and juſtice of the inſertion of ſuch ſtipulations in a treaty of Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland; and their efficacy in removing the preſent complaints of the Iriſh Romaniſts, in caſe they were inſerted.

It is firſt to be obſerved, by the eſtabliſhed Conſtitution of Ireland, ſince the latter end of the reign of Charles the Second, the Romaniſts are excluded from Parliament by the Oaths, which it is enacted all members ſhall take, previous to their admiſſion to ſit or vote in either Houſe; they are excluded from the great offices of the State by the ſame means: and that by Lord Minto's ſcheme, to raiſe them from their preſent *degraded and humiliated condition* (as he ſtyles it), the preſent laws of Ireland enjoining the taking of theſe Oaths are to be repealed, preparative to an Union of the two countries; or by the treaty of Union itſelf to be ratified by the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland. He admits that ſuch ſcheme, whilſt the Parliaments of the two countries remain ſeparate and diſtinct, would be very dangerous to the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment in Church and State in Ireland, if carried into effect; becauſe, as he reaſons, the ſuperior number of Romaniſts in Ireland, when put on a perfect equality with Proteſtants in reſpect to civil privileges, would enable them by degrees to engroſs the whole power of the State, and overturn the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment in Ireland. Now, ſuppoſing the two countries were conſolidated into one body politic by an Union, and Romaniſts put on a perfect equality of civil privileges with Proteſtants

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In Ireland; they would, according to his Lordſhip's reaſoning, in time return all the Iriſh Members to the Houſe of Commons of the imperial Parliament. It is propoſed that Ireland, on an Union, ſhall have one hundred Repreſentatives in the imperial Commons: if theſe ſhould be all, or a great part of them, Romaniſts, it would not be very difficult for them, on many occaſions, where a Miniſter might ſtand in need of their ſervices, to obtain a domineering influence with reſpect to all Iriſh affairs: it appears at preſent, though they have little political power in Ireland, that they have procured an intereſt in the Britiſh Cabinet, very alarming to every attached friend to the Conſtitution in Church and State in Ireland: this would be increaſed a thouſand fold, if an Union took place on the terms ſuggeſted by Lord Minto: in truth, the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment in Ireland could not ſurvive ſuch an event for many ſeſſions. And I beg of his Lordſhip, and other great Britiſh Stateſmen, ſeriouſly to conſider, whether their propoſing ſchemes of Union, ſubverſive of the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment in Ireland, is a likely method of inducing Iriſh Proteſtants, in whoſe hands, for the preſent, almoſt the whole political power of the State is lodged, to conſent to an Union: and whether the continued intrigues of every Britiſh Stateſman for ſome years paſt ſent into Ireland, to act as the Miniſter, with the Iriſh Romaniſts, for the depreſſion of the Proteſtant intereſt in that kingdom, and the elevation of Popery on its ruins, are likely to incline Iriſh Proteſtants to commit all their civil and religious rights, and thoſe of their poſterity, to the abſolute diſpoſal of perſons who ſhow no diſpoſition to ſupport and maintain them. Lord Minto admits, that Great Britain is bound to ſupport the Iriſh Proteſtants by

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by every tie of gratitude, for their unalterable attachment to the intereſts of the Britiſh Empire: they deſire no ſupport from Great Britain, as againſt Romaniſts, the common political enemy of Britiſh, as well as Iriſh Proteſtants: all Proteſtants, in the eyes of Iriſh Romaniſts, are Engliſhmen, and *vice verſa:* they have but one name for both: they are eternal and implacable enemies of Proteſtants, from the tenets of their religion: Iriſh Proteſtants are able, without any ſupport from Great Britain, to protect themſelves from all the force, from all the fury, from all the rancour of Iriſh Romaniſts: all they require from Britiſh Proteſtants is, that they will not join in a hollow league with the avowed enemies both of Engliſh and Iriſh Proteſtants, againſt Iriſh Proteſtants: they have not merited ſuch treatment from Britiſh Proteſtants, they have ever remained faithful to the Britiſh Crown, they are now ſupporting it with their blood and treaſure, ſpilling and laviſhing one and the other in the preſent glorious conteſt! Give them, then, illuſtrous Britiſh Stateſmen, no cauſe to exclaim, in the language of the Roman poet,

Perierunt tempora longi ſervitii!

They are ready to coaleſce with you, but not on terms which in the end will be found equally detrimental to you and them: they demand, nay entreat no more from you, as the condition of an Incorporating Union, than the preſervation of their preſent Conſtitution in Church and State; and they deprecate only its ſubverſion.

I ſhall now make a few obſervations on the juſtice, efficacy, and practicability of ſuch a ſcheme of Union when conſidered in reſpect to Great Britain. By this ſcheme Iriſh Romaniſts muſt be admitted into the imperial Par-

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liament; and by his Lordſhip's reaſoning, excluſive of Romiſh Iriſh Lords, a great proportion, and in time the whole number of Iriſh Commoners, to wit, one hundred, which are to be admitted into the imperial Commons, will be Romaniſts; conſequently the above-mentioned Engliſh Acts of Charles the Second and George the Firſt muſt be repealed in favour of Iriſh Romaniſts; in fact, they muſt be entirely repealed, becauſe it would be highly abſurd to exclude Engliſh and Scotch Romaniſts, when Iriſh Romaniſts are admitted. When thus they have gained admiſſion into the Houſes of Lords and Commons in the imperial Parliament, and formed conſequently no inconſiderable part of the ſupreme power of the State, in violation of every principle of the Britiſh Conſtitution ſince the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth; the Britiſh Miniſter, to ſecure the ſupport of ſo powerful a body in Parliament, muſt deliver into their hands the whole patronage of Ireland. The Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment of that nation muſt be ſubverted, and all public offices there muſt be filled with Romaniſts. If any ſtipulations ſhall be made in the treaty of Union, for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment in Ireland; though ſuch treaty be ratified by the Parliaments of both coutries previous to the Union, and by the imperial Parliament after; yet ſuch ſtipulations cannot ſubſiſt for any length of time. No doubt can be entertained, that the imperial Parliament, being the ſupreme authority of the Empire, will be competent to alter or abrogate the conditions and articles of the Union at its pleaſure; and if it ſhould alter or abrogate ſuch articles as relate to the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment in Ireland, at the expreſs inſtance and deſire of the Repreſentatives of Ireland in the imperial Parliament, aſſiſted by the Britiſh Romiſh members, who could complain

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complain on behalf of Ireland, of the infringement of the treaty of Union? or who could complain with effect? If the Repreſentatives of Scotland in the Parliament of Great Britain ſhould demand an alteration of the articles and conditions of the Union, relating only to Scotland, and the Parliament of Great Britain ſhould comply with ſuch demand, would any complaint be made on behalf of Scotland of the infringement of the treaty of Union? or, if made, would it be followed by any material effect? The maxim of *Volenti non fit injuria* would be the anſwer to ſuch complaints. When Ireland was by ſuch means converted into a Romiſh country, would its Repreſentatives in the imperial Parliament, and the Romiſh Britiſh Members, be contented? would their conſtituents be contented? Certainly not. Scotchmen are capable of filling the higheſt employments in England, complying with the Teſt Act; and the Preſbyterian doctrines oppoſe no inſurmountable barriers againſt ſuch compliance; but the Romiſh do. Many natives of Scotland have riſen to the higheſt ſtations in England ſince the Union: the preſent Lord Chancellor of England, Mr Secretary Dundas, Admiral Duncan, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, Lord Minto himſelf, with multitudes of others, are preſent, the late Lord Mansfield and others, paſt examples, of the great elevation to which the ſhining abilities of North-Britons have raiſed them in England. In caſe of an incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Iriſh Proteſtants being capable of filling high offices in England, the abilities of ſome of that deſcription might promote them to elevated dignities there. But Britiſh and Iriſh Romaniſts would be excluded, by the Engliſh Teſt Act, from all public offices in England, and from being officers in any corporations

porations in England by the Corporation Act. How loud then would the exclamations of the Romiſh Members of both Houſes of the imperial Parliament be againſt the Teſt and Corporation Acts! They would repreſent, that though, by an Incorporating Union, Great Britain and Ireland were conſolidated into one nation, yet they by theſe Acts were deprived of the benefits of the Britiſh Conſtitution in four fifths of that conſolidated nation by theſe Acts, and admitted only to a ſhare with all their fellow-ſubjects in the public employments, emoluments, and political power of the remaining fifth; all their fellow-ſubjects being alſo admiſſible to employments in that fifth. They would loudly complain, as they at preſent do, of this inequality of condition with their fellow-citizens, and inſiſt that they were excluded from the rights of citizenſhip. If the Miniſter of the day ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance in Parliament, as he often would, he muſt liſten to ſuch complaints, and liſten with favour! If ſimilar complaints of the Romiſh party are attended to at preſent, when they are deſtitute of political power, much more attention muſt be paid to them, when they ſhall form a conſiderable part of the ſupreme power of the State. At the Miniſter's beck, how many Lord Mintos would be found ready to join in the cry of the Romiſh pack! how loud would they bellow in the ears of the imperial Parliament *the degraded and humiliated ſtate of Britiſh and Iriſh Catholics*! It is not impoſſible, that both the Teſt and Corporations Acts might be thus cried down: and what Blackſtone ſo juſtly ſtyles the bulwarks of the Conſtitution, defending the Eſtabliſhed Church from all perils from Non-conformiſts of all deſcriptions, and the Conſtitution from all innovations in Religion and Government, might be completely, overthrown and deſtroyed; and the deluge of Republicaniſm and Superſtition, and their cer-

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tain attendant, Infidelity, let in to overwhelm the Britiſh Empire.

But let us ſuppoſe, that the ſound good ſenſe and ſpirit of the people of Great Britain ſhould reſiſt and defeat theſe attempts to repeal the Teſt and Corporation Acts. The certain conſequences of an Union with ſuch ſtipulations in favour of Iriſh Romaniſts as I have ſtated, would be, that both Engliſh and Iriſh Romaniſts in the imperial Parliament would take every method to manifeſt their hoſtility to the Conſtitution: they would be found the conſtant ſupporters of every oppoſition to the meaſures of Government in Parliament: they would be the ſteady allies of the whole Jacobin faction: Engliſh and Iriſh Romaniſts would by themſelves form a powerful party in the imperial Legiſlature; they would be the patrons and the partiſans of every factious project, of every deſperate diſappointed leader in either Houſe of Parliament; the avowed ſupporters of every attempt to overturn and deſtroy the Conſtitution of their country. And I leave it to Britiſh Stateſmen, and particularly to that renowned Miniſter, who has ſo glorioufly and ſucceſsfully ſtood forth the protector and ſupporter of Chriſtianity, of lawful government, of humanity and juſtice in Europe, to conſider, whether ſuch ſchemes of aggrandizement of Romaniſts in the Britiſh Empire are practicable; and, if practicable, whether they are conſiſtent with the principles of ſound policy and juſtice; and whether any political arrangements whatſoever, ſhort of conſigning to them the whole power of the State, will content Romaniſts; and whether any favours conferred upon them will render them a whit better ſubjects to a Proteſtant Britiſh Government, than they are at preſent: whether

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all ſuch arguments as are advanced by Lord Minto, do not directly tend to retard, perhaps to defeat, the accompliſhment of that great and highly beneficial meaſure, an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland, by alarming the Proteſtants of both countries with fears of the ſubverſion of the preſent Conſtitution in Church and State, as the unavoidable conſequence of ſuch a meaſure, on the terms and conditions propoſed by his Lordſhip: whether any neceſſity ever exiſted for propoſing ſuch terms and conditions: whether they have not their origin in the deceptive, deſtructive, falſe, and erroneous doctrines reſpecting Ireland, of the late Mr. Edmund Burke and his diſciples: whether it is either reaſonable, juſt, or expedient, to confer ſuch privileges on Iriſh Romaniſts, after ſo many maſſacres and rebellions, and particularly immediately after their recent maſſacre and rebellion, which has been very partially and inadequately puniſhed; and which merits vengeance, not honourable reward: and finally, whether ſuch arguments as are advanced by Lord Minto, if perſiſted in and further urged, may not be the ſources of infinite calamity to both countries.

I will take my leave of Lord Minto and his Speech, by obſerving, that his Lordſhip in ſome parts, particularly in thoſe relating to the animoſities reſulting from difference of Religion in Ireland, ſeems to deſert his uſual caution, and to ſpeak in a ſtrain of dictation to Iriſh Proteſtants not very conciliating; intimating an abject dependance of the Iriſh nation on Great Britain, pretty much, in the ſtyle of a very arbitrary maſter to his ſlave; his Lordſhip's prudence will, I am ſure, prevent ſuch errors from creeping into any of his future publications. He alſo diſtinguiſhes Iriſh Proteſtants and Romaniſts by the title of

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different caſts; and ſtates, 'that every one knows the firm 'and immovable baſis on which their mutual hatred 'ſtands, the irreconcilable nature of its motives, its 'bitter, malignant, and implacable character.' His Lordſhip ought to have been ſomewhat better acquainted with the Iriſh nation, before he ventured to give the aforeſaid deſcription of it. His information reſpecting Ireland ſeems to be very imperfect in other particulars, as well as in the foregoing. In the great Eaſt Indian Peninſula, the natives, who are but ſlaves to the Moors, are divided into ſeveral claſſes, by Europeans called *caſts*; they are all of the ſame Religion, that of Brama; and theſe caſts never intermarry with each other, or intermix in any way, or even eat together. Their Religion teaches them to preſerve themſelves perfectly ſeparate and diſtinct the one caſt from the other, and ſo they have continued for ages. No ſuch ſeparation or diſtinction ever took place in Ireland between Proteſtants and Romaniſts: they intermarry with each other, and live together, very frequently in amity and concord, as friends and neighbours. Romaniſts frequently conform to the Proteſtant Religion, and there is ſcarcely a family of any note in Ireland which has not relatives of both Religions. Many families of the middle rank are much mixed. Proteſtant men have Romiſh wives, and Proteſtant women Romiſh huſbands; and very often, in ſuch caſes, the progeny, male and female, has been educated in different perſuaſions; the males following the Religion of the father, the females that of the mother. Romaniſts, when acting in a body as a political party, are very different in their conduct from that which they purſue in private life. The unalterable principles of benevolence which the Almighty has implanted in the breaſts of mankind, as ſocial creatures,

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tures, exerts its natural influence on Iriſh Romaniſts, when diſengaged from the leading principles of their ſect conſidered as a faction: it guides them to the exerciſe of the uſual offices of neighbours and friends, to thoſe of a different religious perſuaſion. When they act in a body, and are actuated by the principles of their ſect, *ſuch as they are taught in the Lateran Council*, they have often acted with the greateſt barbarity, and committed the moſt inhuman maſſacres on their Proteſtant neighbours, relations, and friends; tearing aſunder then all the ties of blood, and violating all the duties of friendſhip; and ſuch effects of their religious principles make them the more dangerous as a body, inaſmuch as they extinguiſh all the ſocial feelings in the breaſts of a claſs of men as amply endowed by Nature with the ſocial qualities and virtues as any other. The Religion of Proteſtants teaches them no ſuch inhuman doctrines: they therefore, as a political body, entertain no ſuch deteſtable opinions. They are willing to treat, and have always treated, their Romiſh fellow-ſubjects, as a body, with every degree of indulgence and kindneſs, which is, or can be, conſiſtent with their own ſafety and protection; and in private life they have always been ready to extend to, and receive from Romaniſts, every kind of ſocial, friendly, and neighbourly offices. His Lordſhip is ſomewhat incorrect, if not offenſive, in applying the diſtinction of *different caſts* to Iriſh Proteſtants and Romaniſts; thereby evidently meaning to degrade both the one and the other, by levelling them with the enſlaved, ignorant, pagan natives of Hindoſtan. He is alſo groſsly miſtaken in repreſenting the hatred which Iriſh Romaniſts, as a body and a faction, manifeſt againſt their Proteſtant countrymen, as *mutual*. Iriſh Proteſtants entertain no

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ſuch hatred of their Romiſh fellow-ſubjects, nor did they ever diſcover any ſymptoms of ſuch hatred. They have never adopted any deliberate meaſure of hoſtility againſt their Romiſh countrymen, which was not demanded by the imperious calls of ſelf-defence and protection; and his Lordſhip might have ſpared ſo unwarranted a reflection, as well as others of the ſame kind, on Iriſh Proteſtants. They are indeed well convinced that Iriſh Romaniſts, when they act as a political body, do entertain a hatred of Iriſh Proteſtants, the motives of which are of an irreconcilable nature, and its character bitter, malignant, and implacable, becauſe they are taught by the principles of their Religion to entertain it; but the Proteſtant Religion inculcates no ſuch principles.

I have now ſo fully expoſed the miſrepreſentations of the Political State of Ireland in the Engliſh publications reſpecting the relative numbers, wealth, and power, and the rights and claims, of Proteſtants and Romaniſts; the civil diſſenſions and Rebellions which have taken place in that nation ſince the Reformation, and the cauſes of them; that it is not neceſſary to advert to other modern Engliſh publications on the ſame ſubject; becauſe the miſrepreſentations contained in them are all of the ſame nature with thoſe I have already expoſed. But there is one pamphlet lately publiſhed, entitled, '*Subſtance of the Speech of the Right Honourable Lord Sheffield, April 22d, 1799, upon the Subject of Union with Ireland,*' one paragraph of which I ſhall here take notice of; it is to be found in page 43, and is as follows: 'The objection to Union 'on the part of the Proteſtants of Ireland is unac- 'countable. They can hardly be ſaid to conſtitute a

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'nation; they are an Engliſh Colony governing upwards
'of three millions of Roman Catholics, or at leaſt ſix
'times their own number, in a country acquired and
'maintained by Engliſh arms and treaſure; which Co-
'lony never could have ſupported itſelf, and even the
'laſt ſummer would have been overwhelmed, unleſs
'protected by the ſame means, by Engliſh power.'
Every perſon who has read the preceding pages of this tract, will be convinced that every line of this paragraph contains a groſs miſrepreſentation, highly offenſive to every Proteſtant inhabitant of Ireland, and little calculated to promote an Union, the profeſſed object of the Speech. This miſrepreſentation, I am convinced, is entirely and juſtly attributable to Burkiſm, and miſinformation conveyed to the noble Speaker by the followers of that ſect; his well known character ſetting him high above all ſuſpicion of any other motive. I have already ſhown that Iriſh Proteſtants cannot be conſidered as an Engliſh Colony, when oppoſed to Iriſh Romaniſts. The diſtinction of Coloniſt and Native has been long ſince worn out; and if the origin of the race of Iriſh inhabitants is to be traced by their ſurnames, the inhabitants of native Iriſh extraction compoſe a very large proportion of Iriſh Proteſtants, and thoſe of native Engliſh extraction a ſtill greater proportion of Iriſh Romaniſts. His Lordſhip is egregiouſly miſtaken in his calculation of the relative numbers of Iriſh Proteſtants and Romaniſts. (See Appendix, No. 1.) The Romiſh Convention calculated the relative numbers as three to one: his Lordſhip has doubled the proportion! Property is on the ſide of the Iriſh Proteſtants as thirty-nine to one; they have therefore, though the ſmaller number, a right to govern the greater, by the principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution.

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ſtitution. Ireland is an acquiſition to the Britiſh Crown, made by Henry the Second; not by the expenditure of blood and treaſure, but by the conſent of the natives. If the Engliſh Crown had been obliged to employ its arms and expend its treaſure in the ſuppreſſion of ſubſequent Rebellions, the loyal inhabitants of Ireland have always aſſiſted with their arms and treaſure, and the Engliſh nation has been fully repaid by the retention of its ſiſter kingdom as part of the Britiſh Empire, without which it could ſcarcely ſubſiſt in an independant ſtate, at leaſt in the preſent ſituation of Europe. His Lordſhip is alſo under a great error, when he ſtates that Ireland is a country maintained by Britiſh arms and treaſure; and that Iriſh Proteſtants, whom he calls a Colony, could never ſupport themſelves without Britiſh arms and treaſure, and that they would have been overwhelmed in the ſummer of 1798, had they not been protected by Engliſh power: for Ireland ſupports herſelf by her own arms and treaſure, and the Iriſh Proteſtants are well able to maintain themſelves againſt any efforts of Iriſh Romaniſts by their own arms and treaſure; and demonſtrated ſuch their ability in the ſuppreſſion of the Romiſh Rebellion in the Summer of 1798, without any Britiſh aſſiſtance. Lord Cornwallis came over to Ireland for the purpoſe of extending pardon to the Iriſh Rebels, already routed and diſperſed, and for defending the country from a foreign invaſion; and if the Britiſh nation ſent aſſiſtance to part of the Britiſh Empire, invaded or threatened with an invaſion by the French, with whom the Empire is at war, was the part aſſiſted under any greater obligation for that aſſiſtance than the part which did not ſtand in need of ſuch aſſiſtance? Is not Ireland engaged in the preſent war with France

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merely becauſe ſhe is a part of the Britiſh Empire? And is ſhe not entitled to aſſiſtance from the other parts of the Empire, when menaced with an invaſion by the common enemy? She is not equal by herſelf to combat with France, neither are the other parts of the Empire taken ſeparately: they muſt combat the common enemy with the common force of the whole. It gives me great pain to be obliged thus to animadvert on theſe unfounded aſſertions which his Lordſhip has been deceived into the riſking. How very ridiculous would the aſſertion be, that the Normans ſettled in England are now French Coloniſts! The man would be looked upon as inſane, who ſhould argue, that theſe Coloniſts, compared with the native Saxons and Britons, were only as one to ſix, and that therefore this Colony ſhould agree to an incorporating Union with France. Yet ſuch argument would be as good as his Lordſhip's; for the Normans ſettled in England only one century earlier than the Engliſh ſettled in Ireland; and the Normans may more juſtly be ſaid to have ſettled in England by conqueſt, than the Engliſh in Ireland. William, previous to his ſettlement in England, defeated the Saxon Monarch in a great and deciſive battle. Henry the Second acquired Ireland without a blow. In truth, all ſuch arguments are highly abſurd. Different nations inhabiting the ſame territory for ſeven hundred years, as the Saxons and Normans; for ſix hundred years, as the Engliſh and Iriſh; under the ſame Government and Laws, muſt be ſo blended and mixed together, as to become one and the ſame nation: otherwiſe the inhabitants of the different diſtricts of the habitable world might be ſaid to be compoſed of different nations reſpectively, and the diſtinctions of different races ſubſiſt in the ſame country for ever. I muſt here obſerve,

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ſerve; that publications, purporting to be ſpeeches ſpoken in the Britiſh Parliament, reſpecting Iriſh affairs, as well by the Members in Oppoſition as by ſome of His Majeſty's Miniſters and their friends, have had very bad effects in Ireland, and have been among the moſt prominent cauſes of the laſt Rebellion; holding out ſtrong encouragements to Iriſh Romaniſts, and as it were ſtimulating them to inſurrection, and inſpiring them with the moſt flattering hope of ſucceſs. It is ſincerely to be wiſhed, that at leaſt the friends of Government in England were more circumſpect and diſcreet in their aſſertions and poſitions reſpecting the ſtate of Ireland, and ſomewhat better informed, before they venture to ſend abroad to the public, crude and ill-digeſted plans of projected innovations in that kingdom, and raſh and ill-founded opinions concerning the political influence and power of the different claſſes of its inhabitants.

In the pamphlet entitled '*Arguments for and againſt* '*an Union between Great Britain and Ireland conſidered*,' written, as generally reported by an Engliſh Gentleman in a confidential office under the Government in Ireland, the following points, among others, are ſtated as propoſed to be eſtabliſhed by an Union: '*An arrangement* '*for the Roman Catholic Clergy*, ſo as to put an end, if 'poſſible, to religious jealouſies, and to enſure the at-'tachment of that order of men to the State.—*An Ar-*'*rangement with reſpect to Tithes*.' And in page 30 of that excellent pamphlet entitled '*The Speech of the Right* '*Honourable William Pitt in the Britiſh Houſe of Com-*'*mons*,' there is a paſſage which has given no ſmall cauſe of alarm to Iriſh Proteſtants; the cauſes of complaint of Iriſh Romaniſts are therein ſtyled *moſt*

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goading and oppreſſive; and the paſſage proceeds,—'with 'reſpect to the grievances of which the lower orders of 'the Catholics of Ireland complain, I do not at preſent 'purpoſe entering into the detail of the means which 'may be found to alleviate thier diſtreſſes, *nor how far 'it is poſſible to give them relief on the ſubject of Tithes, 'or put it into their power to make a proviſion for the Clergy 'of their own Church.*' Connecting this paſſage with the two points ſuggeſted by the above-mentioned pamphlet, it would ſeem that the Britiſh Miniſtry had come to a reſolution to give a national ſupport to the Romiſh Iriſh Clergy, and that this ſupport is to be extracted from that of the Parochial Proteſtant Clergy of Ireland, to wit, *the Tithes*, by aſſigning a portion of them to the Romiſh Clergy. I have already ſhown, that no part of the Tithes is really and *bona fide* paid out of the property of the Peaſantry, but out of that of their Landlords; and that forty-nine parts out of fifty of the landed eſtates belong to Proteſtants, and conſequently that forty-nine parts out of fifty of the Tithes are really paid out of the property of Proteſtants. I have ſhown, that the Iriſh Proteſtant Clergy are not paid by the Romiſh Peaſantry in general, more than one fifth part of the real value of the Tithes, though an abatement is made out of the rents of their farms nearly equal to the real value of them; ſo that the peaſantry really gain, inſtead of loſing, by the lands being ſubject to Tithes. Is it therefore conſiſtent with juſtice, leaving civil policy out of the queſtion, to compel Iriſh Proteſtant Landlords to ſupport Romiſh Prieſts for inſtructing their Tenantry in principles hoſtile, not only to the State, but to their perſonal ſafety individually? And is it reaſonable that ſuch ſupport ſhould be ſubtracted from the ſubſiſtence of the Proteſtant Parochial

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rochial Clergy, already ſufficiently ſcanty? It muſt be obſerved here, that the Romiſh Pariſh Prieſts have in general a comfortable ſubſiſtence: they can afford to live as well as the great majority of the beneficed Proteſtant Clergy of Ireland. I have already ſhown the poor proviſion which is made for them; and the Curates of the eſtabliſhed Church are in a worſe ſituation, in point of ſubſiſtence, than the great majority of Romiſh Prieſts; nor is there at preſent any great proſpect of materially bettering their condition; the narrow circumſtances and ſcanty proviſion of the majority of the beneficed Clergy rendering any conſiderable increaſe of the ſtipends of Curates in general impracticable. The Proteſtant Clergy are moſtly married men, and have families to ſupport: the Romiſh Prieſts are bound to celibacy. I have already ſhown, that Romiſh Prieſts, from certain doctrines and ceremonies of their Religion, have ways and means of extracting money from thoſe of their perſuaſion, which the Proteſtant Clergy have not. The former, throughout Europe, are complete adepts in the ſcience of religious alchemy. A Romiſh Prieſt can procure a ſubſiſtence from a congregation of Romaniſts, when a Proteſtant Clergyman, with a congregation of Proteſtants equally numerous and wealthy, if bereft of Tithes, would ſtarve. It is further to be conſidered, that the diſaffection of the Romiſh Clergy, as well as Laity, ariſes from the principles of their Religion; and that it admits of no other cure than the change of theſe principles. Were the Romiſh Clergy in poſſeſſion of the whole revenues of the Proteſtant Church Eſtabliſhment in Ireland, it would not render them a whit leſs hoſtile to the Proteſtant Government. No argument for conferring on them a proviſion from the State can be deduced from the ſup-

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poſition, *that the attachment of that order of men would be thereby enſured to the State.* Their hoſtility would in ſuch caſe remain unchanged: their ability to exerciſe it more effectually would be increaſed. The Gentleman who has propoſed this expedient, has, if I am rightly informed, documents in his poſſeſſion ſufficient to demonſtrate that the Romiſh Prieſts throughout the kingdom were very active agents in the late Rebellion: many of them appeared openly in arms, and were generally the moſt blood-thirſty of the inſurgents. It is not a little ſurpriſing to obſerve, that a ſcheme for conferring public rewards and eſtabliſhments on vanquiſhed, yet irreclaimable Rebels, who ſo recently imbrued their hands in the blood of their loyal fellow-ſubjects, at the expenſe, and extracted from the pockets, of the ſurviving ſufferers, ſhould be propoſed as one of the conditions of an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland! And it is to be hoped that ſuch ſcheme will be finally reprobated by the magnanimous Britiſh Miniſter, and by every Proteſtant in Great Britain and Ireland; and that no new arrangements reſpecting Tithes will be introduced in Ireland, except ſuch as ſhall be adopted in England; and that the eſtabliſhed Clergy of both kingdoms may be kept on the ſame footing. That great Miniſter, who may with propriety be ſtyled the Atlas of Europe, is ſo fully engaged in buſineſs of the greateſt moment to the Chriſtian world, that he has not always ſufficient leiſure to examine minutely all the circumſtances which muſt be conſidered in the progreſs of a Treaty of Union. His great and comprehenſive mind entertains the general plan on an enlarged ſcale of public utility; but he will not diſdain to receive information from inferior underſtandings on points of moment, relating to the rights of conſiderable

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not warrant ſo dangerous an innovation; that it only empowered Iriſh Romaniſts to found a Seminary at their own expenſe, for the education of their youth in general; yet this was a Seminary founded, and to be ſupported, at the expenſe of the nation, for the excluſive education of Romiſh Prieſts: that it was evident the Romiſh Laity did not deſire nor want ſuch a Seminary, for they never had ſubſcribed a ſhilling to its ſupport; and the Univerſity of Dublin had been opened to them for the education of their youth, by the Bill of 1793, in their favour. The Engliſh Secretary argued for the expediency of the inſtitution, principally, almoſt entirely, *on the neceſſity, as he alledged, of a ſupply of Romiſh Prieſts for the nation:* he ſtated, that the Seminaries for the education of the Romiſh Prieſts in France and Flanders, had been deſtroyed by the Jacobins; that Romiſh Prieſts required an education different from that of their Laity; and that therefore this Seminary was properly apropriated to the excluſive education of Romiſh Prieſts. Many members of the Houſe could not comprehend the force of this argument: they could not underſtand how the deſtruction of Seminaries for the education of Romiſh Prieſts in Flanders or France, made it imperative on the State to provide for the education of a ſet of men, in principles of Religion, not only different from that of the State, but hoſtile to it; and for the purpoſe of diffuſing it. They conceived the deſtruction of ſuch Seminaries to be advantageous to the State; the eſtabliſhment of ſimilar ones in their own country, for the ſame purpoſe, highly pernicious. They could not comprehend the public utility of educating Romiſh youth, deſtined for the Miniſtry, in different ſchools from the lay youth of that perſuaſion: they knew it to

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be an old policy in the court of Rome, to feparate the Clergy from the Laity, in all concerns relating to private life, as much as poffible; that it might attach the Clergy in all countries to its own particular intereft: but they could not comprehend the neceffity of their fupporting fuch a political fyftem. The Miniſter was very hard puſhed in the year 1798, in carrying ths grant of eight thouſand pounds to his Monaſtery through the Houſe: many of his moſt attached friends deſerted, and left the Houſe during the debate; he was obliged to ſend out his emiſſaries to rally his ſcattered troops; and he carried it at laſt by a reluctant majority in a very thin Houſe, few more than forty Members being preſent. In the laſt ſeſſion of the Iriſh Parliament, the new Miniſter introduced a Bill in the Houſe of Commons, for a grant of a ſomething leſs ſum than eight thouſand pounds to this Monaſtery; it paſſed the Houſe, and went up to the Lords, where it was thrown out. It appeared on this occaſion, that ſixty-nine ſtudents only, inſtead of two hundred, were maintained in the houſe, notwithſtanding the charge for the ſupport of the full number was but little diminiſhed. It was currently reported, and very generally believed, that about thirty-ſix Romiſh ſtudents from this Monaſtery, had, on the breaking out of the Rebellion, joined the Inſurgents, and fought at Kilcock and other places againſt the King's troops. Certain it is, that ſixteen or ſeventeen have been expelled from it on account of the Rebellion; but the Governors waited with *becoming prudence*, till the Rebellion was ſuppreſſed, before they executed this act of wholeſome ſeverity. Some of theſe rebellious ſtudents had been ſlain in action, and others had fled to eſcape puniſhment. Previous to the breaking out of the Rebellion,

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bellion, a viſitation had been held in Trinity College, Dublin, and ſeventeen ſtudents, all Romaniſts, except three or four reputed Proteſtants, to the beſt of my recollection, had been expelled by the Viſitors; it being proved, that they had been ſeduced into that abominable traitorous aſſociation, called the Society of United Iriſhmen: one of the reputed Proteſtants was a brother of Mr. Emmet, a Member of the Iriſh Directory, now impriſoned at Fort George in Scotland. From what appeared before the Viſitors, it was pretty evident, that Romaniſts had reſorted to that College, particularly the ſons of a leading Romiſh democrat, heretofore a very active Member of the Iriſh Convention in Dublin, for the ſole purpoſe of diffuſing the poiſon, and propagating the doctrines, of the United Iriſhmen through the College; and that the contagion was ſtopped in time, by the ſpirit and exertions of the Proteſtant ſtudents, through whoſe intervention the Viſitors were called on for the exertion of their authority, to purge the College of ſuch peſtilent corruptions. When the new Miniſter found his Bill, for the grant of ſo large a ſum of money to the Romiſh Seminary, was rejected by the Houſe of Lords, he attempted to introduce another Bill for the ſame purpoſe, into the Houſe of Commons; but this was rejected, conformably to the eſtabliſhed uſage of the Houſe, which forbids the introduction of a new Bill, for the ſame purpoſe with a rejected one, in the ſame ſeſſion. The new Miniſter, on the introduction of his ſecond Bill, thought fit to advert to the viſitation which had been held eight months before in the College of Dublin, and extolling, very juſtly, the conduct of one of the Viſitors (without condeſcending to take the ſmalleſt notice of the conduct of the other, who had in every particular

cular concurred with his colleague), he took occaſion to acquaint the Houſe, that the College of Dublin had been infected with the poiſon of treaſon; without any reaſon, viſible to the generality of the Members, for the introduction of the viſitation or the infection of the College of Dublin into his ſpeech; with any part of which they had no apparent connexion; he alſo pathetically lamented the miſcarriage of his Bill in the Houſe of Lords; and particularly ſtated, *that Government would not let ſo uſeful an inſtitution, as that of the Romiſh Monaſtery, fall to decay, for want of ſufficient ſupport.* I perfectly underſtood the Iriſh Miniſter's reaſon for introducing into his ſpeech the viſitation of the College of Dublin, and its infection: he feared the objections which might be made to the Romiſh Monaſtery, on the ſcore of treaſon, and determined to obviate them, by ſtating that the Proteſtant College of Dublin had alſo been infected. But he omitted to ſtate, that almoſt all the ſtudents expelled from the College of Dublin were Romaniſts, or had been ſhortly before ſo; and that the infection had been introduced by them: that the College of Dublin had never ſeven hundred ſtudents, ſeventeen only of whom were expelled, and that they were dragged to the viſitatorial tribunal by the Proteſtant ſtudents: that the great maſs of the ſtudents of Trinity College, Dublin, were eminently loyal: and that the Romiſh Monaſtery, whoſe ſtudents were ſecluded from the world, and therefore leſs liable to external infection, had but ſixty-nine ſtudents, ſeventeen of whom were expelled for actual Rebellion, excluſive of thoſe who were killed in action, or fled from the gallows. I never could diſcover the utility of the inſtitution, as ſtated by the Miniſter; nor do I ſufficiently underſtand, how Government can apply

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apply any part of the public treaſure to its ſupport, not only without the concurrence of Parliament, but contrary to its deciſion, by the rejection of the Bill for that purpoſe: I thought the Treaſury was better guarded, than to admit of ſuch an arbitrary diſpoſition of any part of its contents. The annual income for the ſupport of the Univerſity of Dublin does not amount to eight thouſand pounds. A large part of this ariſes from private donations, the remainder from grants of the Crown of its own eſtates, and no part of it from Parliamentary grants of ſums to be raiſed by taxes aſſeſſed on the ſubject. The monſtrous proviſion required for the education and ſubſiſtence of two hundred Romiſh ſtudents, all paupers, will be more clearly underſtood, when I compare it with that which is provided for poor ſcholars in Trinity College, Dublin, moſt of whom are deſtined to the Proteſtant Miniſtry in Ireland. There are thirty ſizers in the College of Dublin; theſe poor gentlemen have no proviſion whatſoever from the College, ſave their dinners, of the broken meat from the table of the fellows: they are obliged to provide their own chambers: there are ſeventy-two ſcholars of the houſe, thirty of whom enjoy what are called Natives' Places; the Natives have each a ſalary of twenty pounds per annum, and their dinners: the remaining forty-two ſcholars have four pounds per annum, and their dinners: they are both obliged to provide their own chambers. A ſcholarſhip is not attainable till the ſtudent is of two or three years ſtanding, a Native's place not until he is of four: and both expire when the ſtudent attains the ſtanding of a Maſter of Arts. The Romiſh poor ſcholars in the Monaſtery are magnificently lodged *gratis*, and maintained at a great expenſe in a moſt

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moſt plentiful manner: there is a proviſion for two hundred. How different are the eſtabliſhments for the education of the Proteſtant and Romiſh Clergy in Ireland! And how infinitely ſuperior is that of the latter claſs! This is one, and a very glaring effect of the ſpirit of Burkiſm, diffuſed among our rulers both in Great Britain and Ireland. There is no ſuch magnificent foundation, in any College of the two famous Univerſities of Oxford and Cambrige, for the education and ſubſiſtence of poor, or any ſtudents, as is made in this Romiſh Monaſtery, for the education and ſubſiſtence of theſe embryos of Romiſh Prieſts, deſtined for the propagation of doctrinal principles through the realm, ſubverſive of the Conſtitution in Church and State!

I am now come to the laſt obſervation I ſhall make on the melancholy effects of the ſpirit of Burkiſm in the Britiſh Councils: I ſhould indeed have been willing to omit it, from my reſpect to the great Perſonage, whoſe conduct I muſt neceſſarily advert to; but the tranſaction I am about to ſtate, has become ſo public, and is of itſelf of ſo extraordinary a nature, ſo demonſtrative of the deceptions practiſed in England by Mr. Burke's diſciples, and the miſinformation reſpecting the ſtate of Ireland, which they find means to convey to great Miniſters of State, and obtain credit for; that it cannot be omitted in a Tract, written with a view of opening the eyes of the Britiſh nation, and expoſing to it the dangerous arts of the profeſſors of Burkiſm, and the deplorable effects they are capable of producing.

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The county of Wexford, in which the late Rebellion burſt out, ſuddenly and unexpectedly, with aſtoniſhing rapidity and fury, lies on the ſea-coaſt oppoſite to Pembrokeſhire in South Wales; it is almoſt entirely compriſed in the dioceſe of Ferns. The Rebels in two days made themſelves maſters of almoſt the whole county, and particularly of the inland parts. I have already ſtated part of the barbarous maſſacres they committed on the Proteſtant inhabitants of that county in cold blood; and particularly their ſlaughter of all the Proteſtant Clergy who fell into their hands. At the firſt exploſion, a few Proteſtant Clergymen, and other Proteſtant inhabitants, living near the ſea-coaſt, finding their retreat into the country cut off, and hearing of the indiſcriminate murder of all Proteſtants by the Rebels, hopeleſs of mercy, fled to the coaſt, threw themſelves into the firſt boats they met with, almoſt all ſmall yawls and ſkiffs, undecked, and furniſhed only with oars, and committed themſelves to the waves of a very boiſterous ſea, to eſcape from their mercileſs purſuers. The Almighty God preſerved the lives of theſe perſecuted wanderers; they croſſed the Channel ſafely, and landed in Pembrokeſhire, with no other ſuſtenance than what was contained in their pockets; and no clothes, but what they wore on their perſons; and made their way to the town of Haverford Weſt, deſtitute of all means of ſubſiſtence. Mr. John Colclough of Tintern Abbey, on the ſea-coaſt of the county of Wexford, the ſecond ſon of a reſpectable family in the county, and nephew to Mr. Cornelius Grogan, who acted in the capacity of Commiſſary General to the Rebel army, having a ſtout veſſel of his own, put to ſea on the breaking out of the Rebellion, and landed in Pembrokeſhire,

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ſhire, together with one Thomas M'Cord or M'Leard, a clerk whom he employed in a flour-mill, and they both repaired to the town of Haverford Weſt. It appears by the Report of the Secret Committee of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, that Mr. Colclough and his clerk were ſuſpected to have been very active in promoting the Rebellion. (See Appendix to that Report, No. 35) However, whether the ſuſpicion was juſt or not, neither the one nor the other choſe to join the Inſurgents; for they quitted the country on the commencement of the Rebellion. Mr. Colclough was at the head of his family intereſt (his eldeſt brother being abſent on the Continent), which was very conſiderable, and gave him a great influence among the lower orders in the county, particularly the Romiſh peaſantry; and he might have been of great ſervice in curbing the Rebellion, had he remained in the country, and been willing to exert himſelf in that reſpect: and he could have remained in the country with greater ſafety than other gentlemen, as well on account of his family influence, as that of his uncle, a Rebel General, and a man of great property. The Magiſtracy and inhabitants of Haverford Weſt received the unfortunate fugitives with great charity and hoſpitality: they made ſubſcriptions for their relief and ſupport until they could procure ſupplies for their ſubſiſtence from Ireland. Meſſ. Jordan and Bowen, Magiſtrates of Haverford Weſt, wrote an account of the arrival of theſe ſufferers in their town, to his Grace the Duke of Portland, His Majeſty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, and probably ſolicited relief for them: to this application of theſe Magiſtrates, his Grace was pleaſed to return the following anſwer; which I here inſert,

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inſert, as it was publiſhed in the Dublin Journal, and ſeveral other Newſpapers. It bears date the 22d of June 1798.

'Gentlemen,

'I have received your letter on the ſubject of the late influx of perſons in your county from Ireland, and am extremely ſorry to obſerve that there are ſo many *young Clergymen and able-bodied men* among them. The conduct of ſuch perſons in remaining out of Ireland at a moment like the preſent, is very much to be cenſured; and I deſire that you will uſe your beſt endeavours to impreſs them with a due ſenſe of the dangerous tendency of ſuch an example, and of the diſhonourable and diſgraceful imputations to which it obviouſly expoſes themſelves: and at the ſame time that you will make known to the *Clergy, that their names will certainly be reported to their reſpective dioceſans.* With reſpect to *Mr. Colclough, and Mr. M'Cord,* I deſire that they may have full liberty, either to go to Ireland, or to ſtay in the country; *and that all perſons for whom they will anſwer,* as well as all the infirm men, women and children, may be admitted to the ſame indulgence.

'I am, Gentlemen.

'Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

'*Whitehall, June 22d,* 1798. PORTLAND.

'*To Meſſrs. Jordan and Bowen, at Haverford Weſt.*'

The county and the town of Wexford were reſcued from the Rebels, about the time of the date of the Duke's letter. They were chaſed from them with conſiderable

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ſlaughter: the Proteſtant Gentlemen of the county were ſummoned to a general meeting in the town of Wexford on the 7th of July 1798, by General Lake. A copy of the Duke's letter was laid before them; they were all ſtruck with amazement: and they determined unanimouſly to ſend a letter to the Duke on the ſubject, of which the following is a copy: it was ſigned by the High Sheriff of the county:

'The Committee of Gentlemen of the county of 'Wexford, appointed by General Lake, having read a 'copy of a letter from his Grace the Duke of Portland 'to Meſſrs Bowen and Jordan, Magiſtrates in the town 'of Haverford Weſt, South Wales, dated 22d June, ult. 'and which appears to have been in anſwer to a letter 'received by his Grace from thoſe Gentlemen, cannot 'avoid teſtifying their hearty ſorrow at the cenſure thrown 'upon the Clergy of their dioceſe in ſaid letter, and their 'indignation at the groſs miſrepreſentation which muſt 'have occaſioned it. They are unanimous in a high 'opinion of the loyalty, patriotiſm, and proper conduct 'of the Clergy, and ſtrongly feel the neceſſity of their 'flight and abſence during the continuance of the Rebellion which ſo unhappily raged in this county; as, had 'they not effected their eſcape, they have every reaſon to 'conclude that they would have ſhared a ſimilar fate with 'thoſe unhappy few of that body, who early fell into the 'hands of the Inſurgents, and were afterwards maſſacred 'in cold blood.

'They lament, that men of ſuch unblemiſhed cha'racter and conduct, ſhould, from the ſecret repreſenta'tions of perſons no way qualified, be proſcribed that 'protection

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'protection and asylum so liberally bestowed on the per-
'sons of *Mr. John Colclough* and *Thomas M'Cord*, men
'who were and might have remained in perfect security
'in His Majesty's fort at Duncannon, and whose cha-
'racters are by no means free from imputation in this
'country, and on whom they are sorry to find such favour
'lavished by the *English Cabinet*, as they are certain no
'favourable account of their conduct could be made to
'Government save by themselves.

'EDWARD PERCIVALL,

'Sheriff, and Chairman of the Committee.

'*Wexford, July 7th*, 1798.

'*To his Grace the Duke of Portland, Whitehall.*'

To this letter, though written in the names of a great number of the most respectable Gentlemen in the county, and signed by the High Sheriff, his Grace, as I am informed, never condescended to return any answer.

The following paragraph was inserted in the Waterford Newspaper of July the 10th, 1798:

'Yesterday Mr. John Colclough of Tintern Castle,
'county of Wexford, was brought here from Milford, in
'custody of two King's messengers; he was escorted by
'a party of the Union cavalry to Thomas Town on his
'way to Dublin. Mr. M'Cord, who was implicated in
'the charge for which the former was apprehended, had
'made off, but it is said that there is no probability of
'his avoiding the vigilance of his pursuers. *These are*
'*the two gentlemen who were spoken so favourably of, in a*

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' letter from the Duke of Portland to Meſſrs. Jordan and ' Bowen at Haverford Weſt.

' CLERICUS WEXFORDIENSIS.'

His Grace the Duke of Portland is the chief of the family of Bentinck in England, which is originally Dutch; his Grace's anceſtor was the great favourite of King William the Third, our glorious deliverer from Popery, Slavery, and arbitrary Power: he accompanied that great Prince to England, and received from him moſt bountiful rewards for his ſervices, and moſt laviſh marks of his favour. His Grace owes all his honours, all his great eſtates, to the Revolution of 1688: he enjoys, and holds them, if I may ſo ſay, by a Proteſtant tenure. His Grace is univerſally eſteemed a Nobleman of great benevolence, and amply endowed with the ſocial virtues. At the time he wrote this letter to the Magiſtrates of Haverford Weſt, he was, as he now is, His Majeſty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department; and conſequently ought to have been well informed on points relating to the internal ſtate, as well of Ireland, as of Great Britain. To what cauſe then can the writing of ſuch a letter by his Grace, ſo unmeritedly reflecting on the conduct of Proteſtant Clergymen, be attributed? *Proteſtant Clergymen* in the moſt diſtreſſed ſituation that men could be reduced to! obliged to beg from ſtrangers a morſel of bread, and a ſpot to lay their wearied limbs in! a letter proſcribing all relief to *Proteſtant Clergymen*, obliged to fly, naked and deſtitute, from their homes, in open boats acroſs the ſea, and to brave all the perils of the deep, to eſcape from the ruthleſs daggers of infuriate Romiſh aſſaſſins; that relief which was ſo liberally and charitably afforded to *French Romiſh Prieſts* in ſimilar circumſtances! a letter enjoining their

Proteſtant

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Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects to ſpurn *Proteſtant Clergymen* flying from maſſacre, and imploring protection, with contempt and reprobation from their doors! The cauſe is to be found in the indefatigable exertions of the diſciples of the late Mr. Edmund Burke, and of himſelf whilſt living, in infuſing the poiſon of his Romiſh principles into the minds of his Grace, and of other great men in England: miſrepreſenting, traducing, and vilifying with unwearied and unceaſing application, the whole Proteſtant ſyſtem in Ireland. How powerful muſt the influence of Burkiſm be, when it could load the mild and benevolent diſpoſition of his Grace with ſo uncharitable a bias! I have been for fifteen years laſt paſt Vicar General of the dioceſe of Ferns; I have therefore an opportunity of being well acquainted with the Clergy of it; and I never yet knew a ſet of men more orthodox, more pious, more charitable, more eſteemed by their Proteſtant pariſhioners, and, as was generally ſuppoſed, by their Romiſh pariſhioners too, till the late Rebellion ſet fire to the mine of their irreclaimable hoſtility to what they are taught to repute Hereſy. The Wexford Clergy were almoſt all reſident in their reſpective pariſhes, and were regular in the diſcharge of their duties. But my teſtimony of their irreproachable and meritorious conduct is of very little conſequence, when weighed with that of the great body of the Proteſtant Gentlemen of the county, their pariſhioners, and their attached friends, from a due ſenſe and experience of their merits. His Grace's unwarrantable reflections on the conduct of the poor, diſtreſſed, deſpoiled, and exiled Proteſtant Clergy of Wexford in his letter, are not more wonderful, than his favourable recommendation of Meſſrs. Colclough and M'Cord to the Magiſtrates of Haverford Weſt. Surely if the conduct of

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the Clergy, in flying from their country in a ſeaſon of Rebellion, was reprehenſible; that of theſe two perſonages, particularly of the firſt, in abandoning their country at ſo critical a period, deſerved infinately more the cenſure of his Grace. They were both young men able to fight in defence of their lives and properties; and Mr. Colclough could have been of great ſervice in extinguiſhing the flames of Rebellion in a very conſiderable part of the county of Wexford, had he been inclined to exert himſelf for that purpoſe; and they could both have remained at home with much leſs hazard to their perſons or properties, than the Proteſtant Clergy. His Grace's favour in theſe two men muſt have ariſen from the ſame ſource with his reprobation of the conduct of the Wexford Clergy. And I do preſume moſt humbly to ſuggeſt to his Grace, the juſtice and propriety of reviewing his own conduct on this occaſion; and examining into the ſources of that miſinformation, which led his Grace to adopt a proceeding ſo oppoſite to the general operations of his Grace's humanity, ſo very diſtreſſing to the innocent and oppreſſed objects of his Grace's cenſure, and ſo grating to the feelings of every loyal Proteſtant ſubject of the Britiſh Empire.*

I will conclude with expreſſing a wiſh, that the influence of *Burkiſm* may receive an effectual and timely check, as well in Great Britain as in Ireland: and that all diſgraceful and pitiful intrigues with an Iriſh Romiſh faction, in itſelf utterly inefficient, either for the promotion or obſtruction of an incorporating Union of the two nations, and highly offenſive to the loyal Proteſtant ſubjects of his Majeſty in Ireland, may be ſpeedily and for ever abandoned: and that the patronage by Britiſh Stateſmen

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Statesmen of such mischievous, desperate projects as Lord Minto's, which, if at all practicable, would be subversive of the Constitution in Church and State, in both countries, may not be made a powerful objection to that most effective of all measures, which can be ever proposed for the aggrandizement of the British Empire, and the mutual benefit of both countries—an INCORPORATING UNION.

PATRICK DUIGENAN.

Dublin, September 20th, 1799.

P. S. MY original design was, to present to the British Ministry, and to the English nation in general, a fair and just picture of the Present Political State of Ireland; which seems to have, for some time past, been exposed to their view in very false and deceptive colours. I conceived that such a performance might be of use in the arrangement of measures, which must precede and introduce an Incorporating Union of the two nations. I am a man attached to no party, unless my steady adherence to the principles of the Constitution of the British Empire in Church and State, be considered as attachment to a party. I am neither placed nor pensioned, but I am a loyal Protestant subject of his Majesty. I have explicitly expressed my *opinion* respecting an Incorporating Union, though I have offered no *arguments* on the question, as it has been already fully canvassed in many able publications, both in England and Ireland; amongst which, I particularly recommend to the perusal of such as are desirous of good information on the subject, two pamphlets: the [illegible]

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taining '*The Speech of William Smith, Esq. on the Debate of the Question of Union in the Irish House of Commons,*' particularly that part of it which relates to the Competency of Parliament: the other, the same Gentleman's '*Review*' of the pamphlet containing '*The Speech of the Right Honourable the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons:*' infinitely the most formidable adversary of an Union, and one of the ablest men in Ireland. These two pamphlets I look upon as capital performances. In the latter, the author, who is a young man, has combated with great vigour the arguments of the well-informed veteran politician.

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

Calculation of the Number of Inhabitants in Ireland.

SIR WILLIAM PETTY ſurveyed the whole kingdom of Ireland with amazing accuracy (as may be ſeen by his Map preſerved in the Surveyor-general's office), ſhortly before the Reſtoration in 1660, by order of the then Iriſh Government. In his 'Political Anatomy' he ſtates the whole population of Ireland in 1672, ſixteen years antecedent to the commencement of the Revolution war, to amount to one million one hundred thouſand.

Dean Swift, in his ſecond Drapier's Letter, publiſhed in 1724, ſtates, that the inhabitants of Ireland, by the largeſt computation, then amounted to one million and a half only.

In 1732, an enumeration of the inhabitants of Ireland was made by order of Government, and they were found to be under two millions.

Mr. Buſhe, a member of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, has given an account of the number of houſes in Ireland, calculated

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calculated from the hearth-money books in 1791; with other documents for enumerating the inhabitants of Ireland.

Mr. Chalmers, from the documents furniſhed by Mr. Buſhe, calculates the number of inhabitants of Ireland in 1791 to amount to four millions two hundred thouſand; and from thence deduces, that they have been nearly quadrupled in the courſe of one hundred years ſince the Revolution. (See 'Chalmers's Eſtimate,' page 222,223.)

With this laſt calculation I cannot agree, for the following reaſons:

1ſt. Mr. Chalmers, who has taken great pains to aſcertain the population of England and Wales, computes that population at the time of the Revolution to have amounted to nearly ſeven millions (Eſtimate, page 58;) and the population in the year 1794 to amount to nearly eight millions and a half (Eſtimate, page 220): and conſequently, that England and Wales have increaſed in population only one million and a half in one hundred years. In his quotation from Mr. Wallace it is laid down, that the diſtreſſed circumſtances of mankind diſabling them to provide for a family, check very greatly the increaſe of population (Eſtimate, page 221): and he ſtates, that when England was a country of ſhepherds and warriors, ſhe was inconſiderable in numbers; that when manufacturers found their way into the country, when huſbandmen gradually acquired greater ſkill, and when the ſpirit of commerce at length actuated all, people, as it were, grew out of the earth, amidſt convulſions, famine, and warfare; that England can ſcarcely be regarded as a manufacturing

and

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and commercial country at the Revolution, when contraſted with her preſent proſperity in manufacture and trade (Eſtimate, page 212, 213.) Ireland, during the whole period from the Revolution to the preſent day, when manufactures and commerce are little more than in their dawn, that dawn itſelf only commencing in the year 1782, when the ſhackles on her commerce were taken off, may be ſaid to have been a country of ſhepherds and warriors. The whole kingdom, part of the province of Ulſter excepted, in which the linen manufacture has for ſome years flouriſhed (and which alſo has been doubled in the laſt ten years), being almoſt deſtitute of agriculture and manufactures, and inhabited chiefly by herdſmen; a peaſantry, as poor and miſerable as any in Europe, for want of employment, and always furniſhing the armies of foreign Potentates, as well as thoſe of Great Britain, with multitudes of ſoldiers, and all foreign nations, particularly America, with crowds of emigrants: England, at the ſame time, conſtantly increaſing in manufactures and commerce, and her people ſo fully employed, that the nation has frequently complained of want of hands to execute the various works in which they were engaged. From all which, I think it not only improbable, but impoſſible, that Ireland can have quadrupled her population ſince the Revolution, and that England and Wales ſhould not, in the ſame ſpace of time, have increaſed their population even by a fourth part.

2dly. I think the calculation made by Mr. Chalmers, from the documents afforded by Mr. Buſhe, of the numbers in each houſe, is too great; in particular, the calculation of ſix perſons to a houſe of one hearth: not more than four, if ſo many, ſhould be allowed. The inhabitants

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inhabitants of ſuch houſes cannot be ſuppoſed to maintain ſervants; they conſiſt of a man, his wife, and children, when fully inhabited; often of widows and children. The Iriſh inhabitants of ſuch houſes ſend off their children as ſervants or labourers the moment they are able to gain any kind of ſubſiſtence, their extreme poverty diſabling them to maintain a family.

3dly. I am inclined to think that there is ſome error in the calculation of the number of Houſes in the nation, and that they do not amount to ſo many as Mr. Buſhe has computed them to be.

4thly, and laſtly. The ſuperficial contents of the iſland of Great Britain are to thoſe of Ireland in the proportion of three and half a one. I conjecture, from the inſpection of the maps, that the ſuperficial contents of Scotland, with its iſlands, are pretty much the ſame with thoſe of Ireland, perhaps they a little exceed them: England and Wales muſt be therefore more than twice as large as Ireland. I appeal to every intelligent man who has travelled over the two nations, whether the local population of England and Wales be not vaſtly greater than that of Ireland. If England and Wales have mountains and waſtes, Ireland has her mountains, waſtes, bogs, lakes, and moraſſes of much greater extent, comparatively ſpeaking, than England and Wales; and in the inhabited parts of the two nations the populouſneſs of England and Wales exceeds that of Ireland in a very great ratio. I fancy Mr. Chalmers, whoſe reſearches, accuracy, and judgment, do him infinite honour, never travelled through Ireland, particularly through the provinces of Connaught, Munſter, and Leinſter; if he had, he never

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never could have been induced to believe that Ireland contained upwards of four millions of inhabitants, and England and Wales only double that number. One thing I will venture to aſſert, either that the calculation of the number of inhabitants of England and Wales falls vaſtly ſhort of the real number, or that the number of the inhabitants of Ireland is groſsly exaggerated: and that if Ireland contains upwards of four millions of inhabitants, England and Wales contain at leaſt twelve millions. I have a much better opinion of the accuracy of Mr. Chalmers's calculations, and the authenticity of his documents, than of thoſe of Mr. Buſhe; and am myſelf decidedly of opinion, that the number of the inhabitants of Ireland has been exaggerated; and particularly, becauſe I have known it to be a cuſtom in Ireland, for gentlemen, who have aſſumed the title of Patriots, conſtantly to exaggerate the ſtrength and importance of Ireland, with a view of bearding Great Britain; and they have, in the faſhion of Falſtaff, increaſed *their men in buckram* by upwards of one million, in my own recollection. A ſort of inferior Member of this claſs of politicians, and an United Iriſhman, lately publiſhed a pamphlet in Dublin, relating to the health of the Citizens, and means of preſerving it, in which he aſſerts, tranſiently as it were, that the inhabitants of Dublin amount to four hundred thouſand, though I never before heard them computed at a greater number than one hundred and fifty thouſand, and they are certainly under two hundred thouſand. I am myſelf of opinion that the whole inhabitants of Ireland do not amount to more than three millions, if to ſo many.

Relative

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Relative Numbers of Proteſtants and Romaniſts in Ireland.

Sir William Petty, in his 'Political Anatomy,' ſtates the proportion of Proteſtants and Romaniſts in Ireland to be as three to eight, in the year 1672, ſixteen years before the Revolution, ſo that at that time the Iriſh Proteſtants amounted to more than one third of the inhabitants of the country. In the year 1732, an accurate enumeration was made by order of Government of all the families in Ireland, diſtinguiſhing the Proteſtant families from the Romiſh in each Province, and a calculation was made from thence of the numbers of the Proteſtant and Romiſh inhabitants of Ireland: it was printed in Dublin in the year 1736, and reprinted in 1788. It appears from that calculation, that in the year 1732 the number of Proteſtant inhabitants was to that of the Romiſh in the proportion of one to two and a half. Dr. Burke, Romiſh titular Biſhop of Oſſory, wrote a book in Latin, which he entitled, 'Hibernia Dominicana;' it was printed at Bruſſels in the year 1762; and he particularly ſtates, that an actual enumeration was made of the numbers of Proteſtants and Romaniſts in Ireland in the year 1731, and that there were found to be then in the kingdom ſeven hundred thouſand four hundred and fifty-three Proteſtants and one million three hundred and nine thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-eight Romaniſts: ſo that the proportion of Romaniſts and Proteſtants was not in the year 1731 quite two to one, according to Dr. Burke. It is very likely that this Romiſh Biſhop had very accurate information of the relative numbers, perhaps better than that which could be deduced from the documents ſtated in the pamphlet containing the calculation made in 1732. Dr. Burke alſo ſtates, that the proportion had much increaſed

on

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on the Proteſtant ſide, between the year 1731 and the year 1762, when he wrote, by the operation of the Popery Code, and the Proteſtant Charter-ſchools, and makes grievous complaints of the increaſe of Heretics, as he ſtyles Proteſtants. The Popery Code continued in full vigour till the year 1776, and its operation, together with the Charter-ſchools, muſt have increaſed the proportion on the Proteſtant ſide. There is a modern document which muſt have great weight in this queſtion, taken from the numbers of beggars admitted into the Houſe of Induſtry in Dublin, for a courſe of ſix years, beginning with the year 1784, and ending with the year 1789; and their reſpective religious perſuafions.

This Houſe of induſtry is a general receptacle for all beggars which flock into Dublin from all parts of Ireland, for there are no poor rates in Ireland. Divine ſervice is performed ſeperately in this receptacle for perſons of the two perſuations, and chaplains are retained for each by the Corporation.

	Numbers admitted.	
	Proteſtants	Romaniſts.
In 1784 —	696 —	1870
In 1785 —	768 —	2435
In 1786 —	1794 —	2912
In 1787 —	1493 —	3341
In 1788 —	854 —	3643
In 1789 —	798 —	3615
Sum total	6403	17,816

The Romiſh beggars admitted during a courſe of ſix years, did not exceed the Proteſtant beggars in the proportion of three to one. The Houſe of Induſtry is filled

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with the loweſt claſs; and as the property in the hands of Iriſh Proteſtants is to that in the hands of Iriſh Romaniſts as thirty-nine to one, the proportion of beggars on the ſide of Iriſh Romaniſts to thoſe on the Proteſtant ſide, muſt vaſtly exceed the proportion of Romaniſts and Proteſtants in the nation at large. Beſides, although wandering beggers flock to Dublin from all parts of the kingdom, the feweſt certainly come from the northern counties which abound moſt with Proteſtants; for having a flouriſhing manufacture, theſe counties ſend forth feweſt beggars. From all theſe documents it may be fairly concluded, that Iriſh Romaniſts exceed Iriſh Proteſtants in number throughout the whole kingdom in no greater proportion than that of two to one, perhaps in a much leſs.

The Romiſh Convention in Dublin, in the year 1792, firſt broached the poſitions, that Iriſh Romaniſts exceeded Iriſh Proteſtants in the proportion of three to one, and that the groſs number of the inhabitants amounted to four millions, conſequently, that the Romaniſts amounted to three millions. They never produced any document on which they pretend to found a calculation; however, they then admitted that Iriſh Proteſtants amounted to one million. Is is remarkable that this Convention never ſcrupled to advance and publiſh any falſehood whatſoever, which they thought might be of advantage to their cauſe; of which their petition to His Majeſty is a very prominent inſtance.

Comparative property of Iriſh Proteſtants and Romaniſts.

The firſt reaſonable ground of calculation of the comparative property of Iriſh Proteſtants and Romaniſts, muſt

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muſt be taken from the quantity of landed eſtates in the hands of the members of each perſuaſion reſpectively; and this is the ſureſt ground in a calculation in a country like Ireland, which is only juſt begining to be a commercial country, and has as yet made no great progreſs. To make a true eſtimate in this reſpect, we muſt go back to the time of James the Firſt. In his reign, ſix whole counties, out of nine contained in the province of Ulſter, were forfeited to the Crown for treaſon: the King granted a great part of theſe counties to Engliſh and Scotch Proteſtants. Theſe grants made a great addition to the landed eſtates at that time in the hands of Proteſtants; and the grantees being infinitely more induſtrous than the former poſſeſſors, ſuch of the ancient inhabitants as retained their eſtates by the favour of the Crown, in theſe ſix counties, and the ſame claſs throughout the whole province of Ulſter, being a barbarous race, unuſed to induſtry, and addicted to luxury and gluttony, particularly to an immoderate thirſt for ſtrong liquors, waſted their properties, contracted large debts, and ſold great portions of their eſtates to their induſtrious and frugal Proteſtant neighbours in that province, before the great Iriſh Rebellion in 1641. Their poverty, the conſequence of their own idleneſs and diſſipation, and their envy of the proſperity of their Proteſtant neighbours, the fruit of their frugality and induſtry, are aſſigned as ſome of the cauſes of that horrid Rebellion and Maſſacre. The whole maſs of Iriſh Romaniſts throughout the nation engaged in this Rebellion of 1641; and when it was at length ſuppreſſed, almoſt the whole of the landed eſtates in the hands of Iriſh Romaniſts, at the time of its commencement, were forfeited to the Crown, and parcelled out among proteſtants. Theſe forfeitures, with

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the landed eſtates in the hands of Proteſtants at the commencement of the Rebellion, amounted to five ſixths of the whole landed property of the nation. The Iriſh Romaniſts in a maſs again rebelled in the year 1689. After a war which laſted three years with uncommon fury, they were ſubdued; but obtained conditions, by which they were at liberty to remain in Ireland, and retain their eſtates, on the terms of their ſubmiſſion to the new Government under King William and Queen Mary, and taking the Oath of Allegiance; or of tranſporting themſelves to France, and relinquiſhing their eſtates as forfeitures. Almoſt the whole body of Romaniſts then entitled to eſtates in Ireland, choſe rather to go to France and abandon their eſtates, than ſubmit to the Government and take the Oath of Allegiance. They entertained ſtrong hopes of a new revolution in their favour in which they were diſappointed. The eſtates thus abandoned to forfeiture were granted by the Crown to Proteſteans. By the ſeveral names before mentioned, almoſt the whole landed property in Ireland became veſted in Proteſtants. That part of the Popery Code which prohibited Iriſh Romaniſts to acquire landed property was enacted in the ſecond year of Queen Anne (1703), ſhortly after the Revolution. It was afterwards ſtrengthened by the eighth of Anne (1709), and was not materially relaxed, ſo as to allow them to purchaſe eſtates in fee, till the year 1782. In all the intermediate ſpace, being eighty years, Romaniſts had the liberty of alienating the ſmall pittance of landed property which remained in their hands after the Revolution, which they did not fail to make a liberal uſe of; but no liberty of acquiſition: and during the eighteen years laſt paſt, they have had neither property, time, nor opportunity

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to purchaſe or acquire any conſiderable portion of landed eſtates, ſo as materially or ſenſibly to diminiſh the maſs of landed property in the hands of Iriſh Proteſtants at large. And from all the cauſes before mentioned it is certain, that the allowance of one fiftieth part of the landed property of the nation to the ſhare of Iriſh Romaniſts, at the preſent day, is rather too great.

The ſmall proportion of perſonal property in the hands of Iriſh Romaniſts, when compared with that in the poſſeſſion of Iriſh Proteſtants, may be eſtimated from the following facts: About ſixteen years ago, when a national Bank was eſtabliſhed in Ireland, the capital propoſed was ſix hundred thouſand pounds. The Iriſh Romaniſts ſubſcribed as much of this capital as they could raiſe, with a hope of engroſſing to themſelves the whole direction of the Bank, and thereby gaining a powerful influence to their party; yet the whole body was not then able to ſubſcribe a larger part of this capital than ſixty thouſand pounds, one tenth of it! One argument ſtrongly relied upon for the propriety of repealing that part of the Popery Code which forbid the acquiſition of landed eſtates by Romaniſts, and that which had moſt weight with many Members of Parliament in that tranſaction, was, that if Romaniſts were allowed to buy eſtates, the rates of purchaſe of lands would be doubled, from the vaſt number of Romiſh buyers (repreſented as poſſeſſed of great perſonal property), which would then flock into the land market. They have had liberty to purchaſe eſtates theſe eighteen years paſt. When they obtained that liberty, fee-ſimple eſtates in Ireland, though leaſed to tenants for long terms of years, and conſequently not likely to increaſe in value, were ſold at the

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rate of from twenty-three to twenty-five years purchaſe; at preſent they do not bring a greater price than eighteen years purchaſe; and they have been gradually ſinking in value from the time the Romaniſts obtained the permiſſion to purchaſe; a demonſtration, that the number of purchaſers in the land market did not much increaſe by that permiſſion, and that the perſonal riches of Iriſh Romaniſts were imaginary. Since the free trade was granted to Ireland in the year 1782, ſome Iriſh Romaniſts have acquired conſiderable fortunes in trade; but ſeveral Iriſh Proteſtants have alſo acquired large fortunes in the ſame time, by the ſame means; ſo that it is pretty clear, that the perſonal eſtates of Iriſh Romaniſts, in the maſs, do not amount to more than the twentieth part of the perſonal property of the nation, if to ſo much.

It is proper here to inſert an account of a very extraordinary and artful attempt at procuring a fraudulent and garbled enumeration of the numbers of Proteſtants and Romaniſts in Ireland, and giving it a credit and authenticity; which was made in the year 1795, and which ought to put Iriſh Proteſtants on their guard, and render them more vigilant in defeating ſuch attempts for the future.

In the year 1786, a ſociety was formed in Ireland, and incorporated by patent, ſtyled the Royal Iriſh Academy. A great number of the firſt characters in the kingdom in rank and property are members of this Academy; Lords, Privy Counſellors, Biſhops, and diſtinguiſhed Commoners. It is of the ſame nature with the Royal Society in England. It has been inſtituted for the advancement of the ſtudies of Science, Polite Literature

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and Antiquities. As ſocieties formed on the Continent, nominally for ſimilar purpoſes, were perverted into engines for the ſubverſion of the reſpective Governments under which they were eſtabliſhed. one of which was the Society of Economiſts in France; and as the juſtly admired celebrated, and learned Author of the *'Purſuits of 'Literature'* has hinted, that attemps have been made to diſtort ſome of the publications of the Royal Society in London to political and factious purpoſes, by ſome buſy Romaniſts, under the veil of gatifying public curioſity by reſearches into antiquities; ſo ſome of the moſt factious of the Romaniſts of Ireland, and deſperate Jacobins their allies, ſoon directed their attention to this Society, and endeavoured, with too much ſucceſs, to get themſelves admitted members of it; and I have read with amazement the names of Dr. M'Nevin, and others of rather worſe and more dangerous characters, in the liſt of the members of this Society. It is an obſervation of Dean Swift, that men of ability often, from a liſtleſs inactivity, reſign their pretenſions to *vigilant dunces, who are ſure never to be out of the way* A ſimilar obſervation is applicable to men of great rank and character in ſocieties ſuch as I am advering to. From buſineſs, from inattention, and other c[illegible]s, they are frequently found almoſt to abandon the meetings of theſe ſocieties and reſign the management of them to *vigilant Jacobins, who are ſure never to abſent themſelves*; giving them thus an opportunity of perverting the profeſſed purpoſes of ſuch ſocieties to their own factious plans and deſigns, and ſtamping their frauds with the credit of great names. Thus it has happened in this ſociety. Dr. Prieſtley, as well as I recollect, coined the word Statiſtical. He was deſirous of ſubverting the Conſtitution in Church and State, and

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with that view endeavoured to encourage all Diſſenters to enter into a general confederacy for the purpoſe, and proceeding in the execution of that ſcheme, by ſelecting ſuch parts of England as abounded moſt with them, and numbering the inhabitants, with the different modes of their religious worſhip, to ſhow that the number of inhabitants of the eſtabliſhed Religion was not equal to that of Diſſenters of all denominations. for this purpoſe he put forward what is called *Statiſtical* Inquiries in particular places, ſuch as Bermingham, &c.; and to give an importance to his ſeditious operations, and to diſguiſe them as the mere ſpeculative purſuits of a philoſopher, he coined the quaint term *Statiſtical*; a *Statiſtical Inquiry*, in the vulgar tongue, ſignifying nothing more than an *Inquiry into the State*. This mode of inquiry has been taken up ſince in England by a reſpectable baronet, I belive for laudable purpoſes. The Romaniſts and Jacobins in the Royal Iriſh Academy procured a Committee of Statiſtical Inquiry to be appointed by the Society (the Members probably of their own nomination), for the enumeration of the inhabitants of Ireland, diſtinguiſhing the religious perſuaſion of each perſon. A Form was printed by this Committee, in columns, directing the mode in which the returns of the number, religion, and occupations of the inhabitants of each pariſh, barony, county, and dioceſe, in the kingdom, was to be made; and by the printed Form it appears, that the whole was to have been executed by the Romiſh Pariſh Prieſts throughout the kingdom. When the Romiſh Prieſt of each pariſh had fabicated his ſtatiſtical account of the numbers, religion, and occupation of the inhabitants of his pariſh, he was to ſhew it (if he thought fit) to the Proteſtant or Diſſenting Miniſter of the

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the pariſh, and requeſt his ſignature. This Committee well knew, that not one Proteſtant Miniſter in one hundred would ſign ſuch an account, made up by the Romiſh Prieſt. The printed Form alſo contained a Reſolution of this Committee, to apply to the Romiſh titular Biſhops, requeſting their aſſiſtance in making this ſtatiſtical inquiry, and the Copy of a Letter to be written by them reſpectively to each of their ſubordinate Prieſts. The Committee managed the whole buſineſs in the Society.

This was a ſcheme equally fradulent and dangerous calculated by the original projector or projectors for the mere purpoſe of ſapping the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland. The Committee for Statiſtical Inquiries paſſed over the Proteſtant Miniſters, and ſelected the Romiſh Prieſts throughout the kingdom, to make this inquiry, well knowing that they would make returns in the ſame ſpirit with Huſſey, titular Biſhop of Waterford, who ſtated, in a ſeditious pamphlet publiſhed by him, that Iriſh Romaniſts exceeded Iriſh Proteſtants in the kingdom at large, in the proportion of ten to one; and in that of one hundred to one in the dioceſe of Waterford: A moſt impudent falſehood! The Proteſtants, as appears by the printed Form, were to be ſubdivided by the Romiſh Prieſts into different ſects, ſuch as Proteſtants, Preſbyterians, Quakers, Methodiſts, &c. ſo as to make the numbers of each ſect, when compared with the Romaniſts, appear in a diminiſhed ratio; and to withdraw the attention of thoſe, into whoſe hands the publication of the reſult of the ſtatiſtical inquiry ſhould come, from the ſum total of the Proteſtants, and to fix it on the aggregate exaggerated number of Romaniſts; though, as Romaniſts conſider all who are not of their communion

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to be Heretics, and are equal enemies to them all, in comparing the relative numbers of Iriſh Proteſtants and Romaniſts, all perſons who are not Romaniſts, are juſtly to be accounted on the Proteſtant ſide; it being equally the intereſt of them all to oppoſe the perſecuting ſpirit of Popery, the common enemy. The time of inſtituting this inquiry is worthy of remark. The Reſolution of the Committee to employ the Romiſh Prieſts in the buſineſs, in the printed Form in my poſſeſſion, bears date June 20th, 1795, the very time when the Romaniſts throughout the kingdom were buſily employed in preparing for a general Inſurrection, and, as they ſtyled it, organizing their army; and the reſult of ſuch an inquiry made by the Romiſh Prieſts throughout the nation, but publiſhed under the ſanction and authority of ſo reſpectable a body as the Royal Iriſh Academy, as a mere philoſophical tranſaction, detached from all ſuſpicion of party intrigue, the projectors knew would give mighty encouragement to the Inſurrection, by the falſe and inflated account of the numbers and ſtength of Iriſh Romaniſts, when compared with the dwarfiſh repreſentation of their opponents, which they knew would be contained in it. This would add to the confidence of the Rebels, and depreſs the ſpirits of the loyal inhabitants. The projectors alſo knew, that ſuch a fraudulent inquiry would have a ſtrong effect in Great Britain in their favour, in the event either of the ſucceſs or ſuppreſſion of the Rebellion.

It is not generally known how far this inquiry has been proceeded on; but this is certain, that, antecedent to the Rebellion, ſeveral perſons who joined in it, and ſome of whom were ſlain in the progreſs of it, others hanged

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hanged on its ſuppreſſion, and ſome who have been acquitted on trials for treaſon by the proviſions of the Amneſty Bill, were very active in making the inquiry, and proceeded on it under the form preſcribed by the Committee for Statiſtical Inquiry. Perhaps the reſpectable Members of the Society have been awakened from their ſlumbers by the dangerous and fraudulent tendency of the meaſure, and have defeated the project.

No. 2

Extract from the Iriſh Act of the 33d of His preſent Majeſty (1793), *entitled, 'An Act for the Relief of His 'Majeſty's Popiſh or Roman Catholic Subjects of Ire-'land.'*

Sect. IX.

PROVIDED always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to enable any perſon to ſit or vote in either Houſe of Parliament, or to hold, exerciſe, or enjoy the office of Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other chief Governor or Governors of this kingdom; Lord High Chancellor, or Keeper, or Commiſſioner of the Great Seal of this Kingdom; Lord High Treaſurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, or Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, Maſter or Keeper of the Rolls, Secretary of State, Keeper of

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of the Privy Seal, Vice-treasurer, Teller or Cashier of the Exchequer, or Auditor General, Lieutenant or Governor, or Custos Rotulorum of Counties, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other chief Governor, or Governors of this Kingdom, Member of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, Prime Serjeant, Attorney General, Soliciter General, Second and Third Serjeants at Law, or King's Counsel, Masters in Chancery, Provost or Fellow of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth near Dublin, Postmaster-general, Master and Lieutenant-general of His Majesty's Ordnance, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces, Generals on the Staff, and Sheriffs and Sub-sheriffs of any County in this Kingdom, or any office contrary to the rules, orders, and directions made and established by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, in pursuance of the Act passed in the 17th and 18th years of the reign of King Charles the Second, entitled, *An Act for explaining some Doubts arising upon an Act, entitled, 'An Act for the better Execution of His Majesty's gracious 'Declaration for the Settlement of his Kingdom of Ireland, 'and Satisfaction of the several Interests of Adventurers, Soldiers. and other his Subjects there;' and for making some Alterations of, and Additions unto, the said Act, for the more speedy and effectual Settlement of this Kingdom*; unless he shall have taken, made, and subscribed the oaths and declarations, and performed the several requisites, which by any law heretofore made, and now of force, are required, to enable any person to sit or vote, or to hold, exercise, and enjoy the said offices respectively.

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No. 3.

Extract from Blackſtone's Commentaries, 4th vol. page 57, Octavo Edition.

THE better to ſecure the eſtabliſhed Church againſt perils from Non-conformiſts of all denominations, Infidels, Turks, Jews, Heretics, Papiſts, and Sectaries, *there are two bulwarks erected, called the Corporation and Teſt Acts.* By the former of which no perſon can be legally elected to any office relating to the government of any city or corporation, unleſs, within a twelvemonth before, he has received the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England; and he is enjoined to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, at the ſame time that he takes the Oath of Office; or in default of either of theſe requiſites, his election ſhall be void. The other, called the *Teſt Act*, directs all Officers, civil and military, to take the Oaths, and make the Declaration againſt Tranſubſtantiation, in the Court of King's Bench or Chancery, the next term, or at the next quarter-ſeſſions, or within ſix months after their admiſſion; and alſo within the ſame time to receive the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the uſage of the Church of England, in ſome public church, immediately after divine ſervice and ſermon, and to deliver into Court a certificate thereof, ſigned by the Miniſter and Churchwardens; and alſo to prove the ſame by two credible witneſſes, upon forfeiture of 500*l.* and diſability to hold the office.

P. S. Teſt Act paſſed in the 13th of Charles II. c. 1.
Corporation Act in the 35th of Charles II. c. 2.

THE END.

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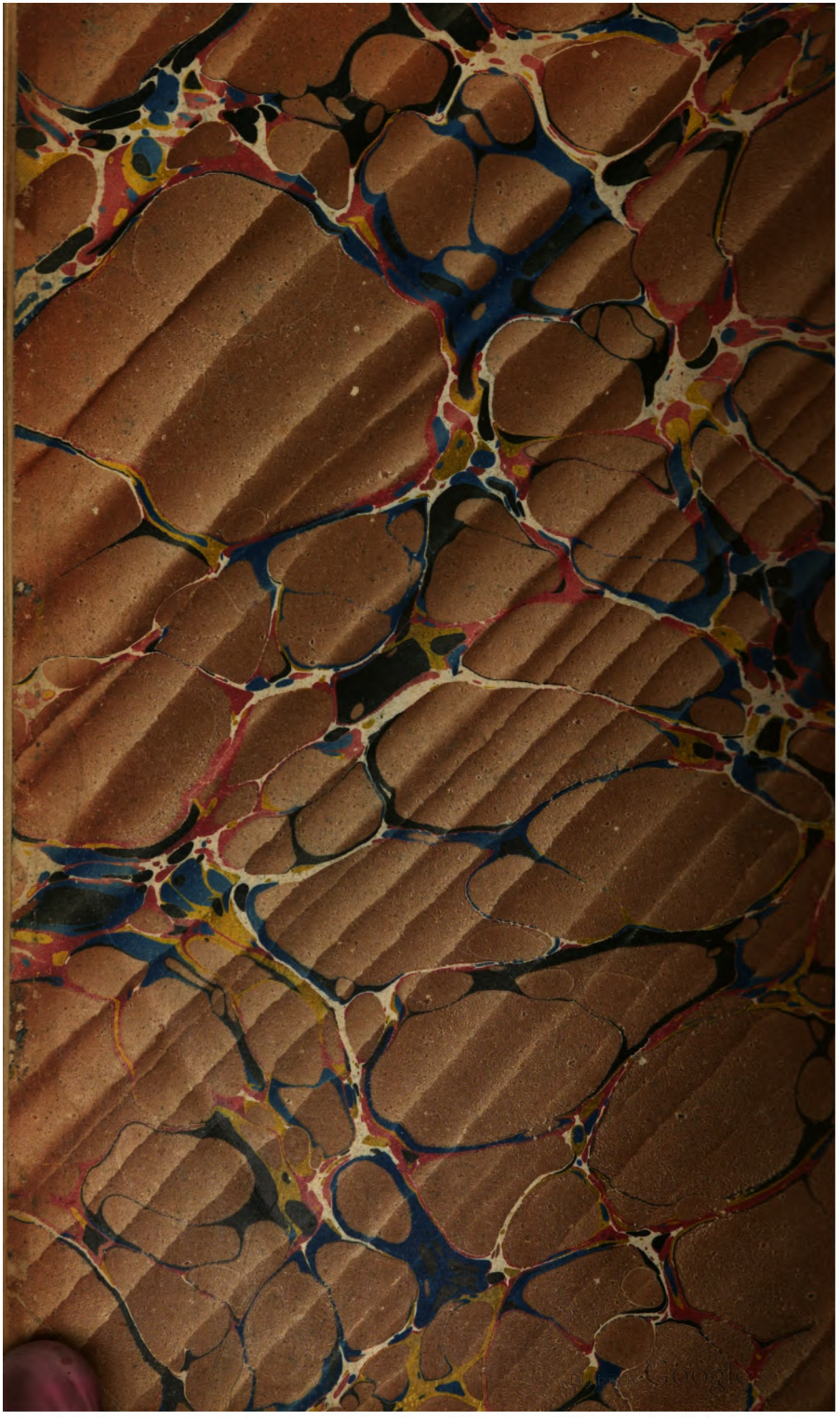

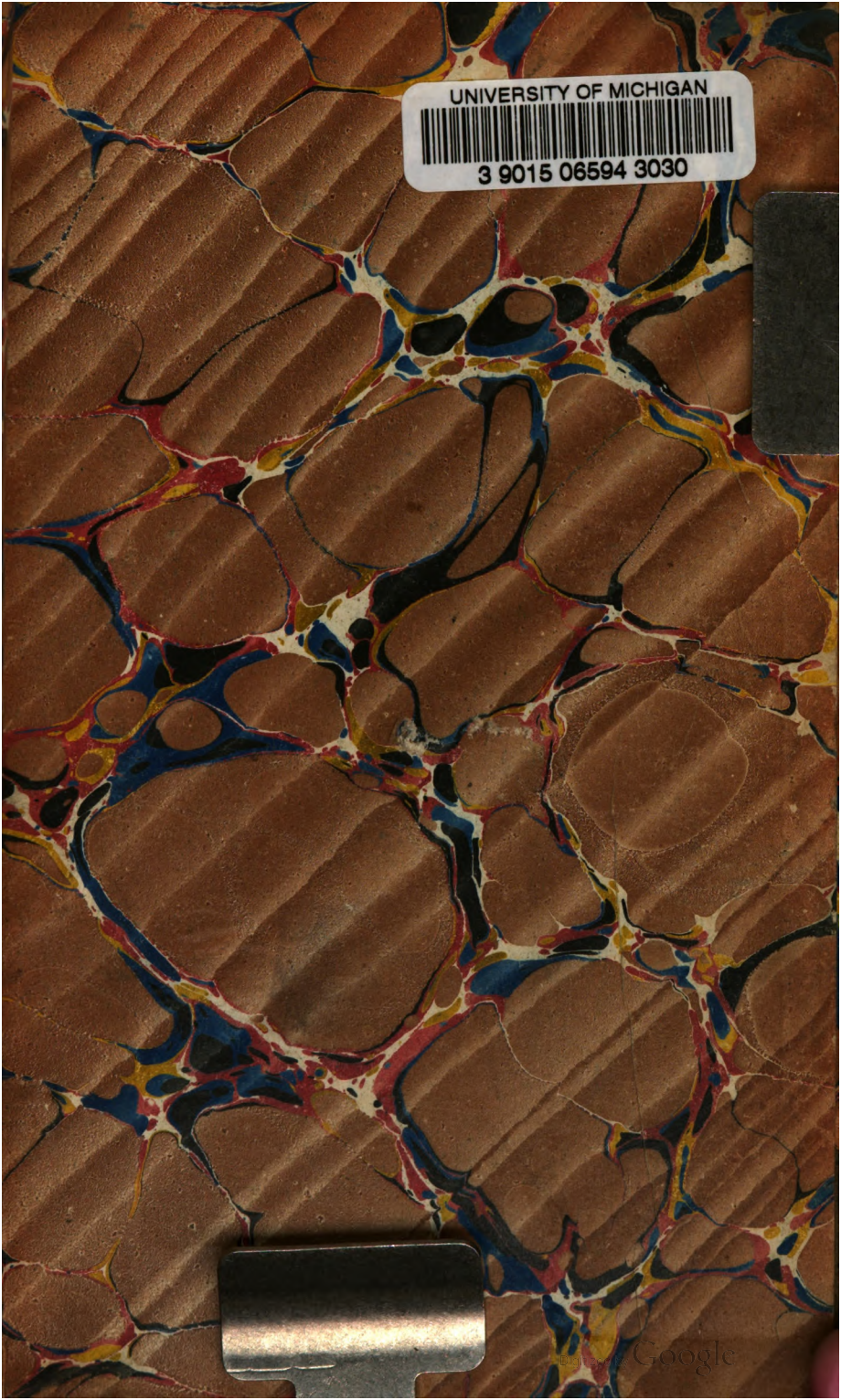
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